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AND

MARLEBVRROVGH.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Containing

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AND

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EUDOXUS and IRENÆUS.

BY

EDMUND SPENCER, Esq.

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TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

THOMAS LO. VISCOVNT WENTWORTH,

LO. DEPVTY GENERALL

OF

IRELAND,

LO. PRESIDENT OF HIS MAIESTIES COVNCELL ESTABLISHED IN THE NORTH PARTS OF ENGLAND, AND ONE OF HIS MAIESTIES MOST HONORABLE PRIVIE COVNCELL.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

THE sense of that happy peace, which by the divine providence this Kingdome hath enjoyed, since the beginning of the raigne of his late Majestie of ever sacred memory, doth then take the deeper impression, when these our halcyon dayes are compared with the former turbulent and tempestuous times, and with the miseries (of severall kindes) incident unto them. Those calamities are fully set out, and to the

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life by Mr. Spenser, *with a discovery of their causes, and remedies, being for the most part excellent grounds of reformation. And so much may be justly expected from him in regard of his long abode and experience of this Kingdome. In these respects, and for other good uses, which the collections (now communicated) doe afford for matter of* history *and* policy, *I am incouraged to dedicate them to your Lordship, and humbly to desire your favourable acceptance of them, and of*

Your Lordships ever

humbly devoted,

JAMES WARE.

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THE PREFACE.

HOW far these collections may conduce to the knowledge of the *antiquities* and *state* of this Land, let the fit reader judge: yet something I may not passe by touching Mr. *Edmund Spenser* & the worke it selfe, lest I should seeme to offer injury to his worth, by others so much celebrated. Hee was borne in *London* of an ancient and noble family, and brought up in the Vniversitie of *Cambridge*, where (as the fruites of his after labours doe manifest) he mispent not his time. After this he became Secretary to *Arthur* Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland;* a valiant and worthy Governour; and shortly after for his services to the Crowne, he had bestowed upon him by Queene *Elizabeth*, 3000 acres of land in the Countie of *Corke*. There hee finished the latter part of that excellent poem of his *Faery Queene*, which was soone after unfortunately lost by the disorder and abuse of his servant, whom he had sent before him into *England*, being then *á rebellibus* (as [a] *Camdens* words are) *è laribus ejec-*

[a] *Annal. rer. Anglic. & Hibern. pag.* 729, *edit.* 1625.

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tus & bonis spoliatus. He deceased at *Westminster* in the yeare 1599. (others have it wrongly 1598.) soone after his returne into *England*, and was buried according to his owne desire, in the collegiat Church there, neere unto *Chaucer*, whom he worthily imitated, (at the costes of *Robert* Earle of *Essex*,) whereupon this Epitaph was framed,

Hîc prope Chaucerum *situs est* Spenserius, *illi*
proximus ingenio, proximus ut tumulo.
Hîc prope Chaucerum Spensere *poeta poetam*
conderis, & versu quàm tumulo propior.
Anglica te vivo vixit plausitq poesis,
nunc moritura timet te moriente mori.

As for his worke now [b] published, although it sufficiently testifieth his learning and deepe judgement, yet we may wish that in some passages it had bin tempered with more moderation. The troubles and miseries of the time when he wrote it, doe partly excuse him, And surely wee may conceive, that if hee had lived to see these times, and the good effects which the last 30 yeares peace have produced in this

[b] *Ex Bibliotheca Remi in Christo patris D.* Jacobi Vsserij *Archisp Armachani.*

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land, both for obedience to the lawes, as also in traffique, husbandry, civility, & learning, he would have omitted those passages which may seeme to lay either any particular aspersion upon some families, or generall upon the Nation. For now we may truly say, *jam cuncti gens una sumus*, and that upon just cause those ancient statutes, wherein the natives of *Irish* descent were held to be, and named *Irish* enemies, and wherein those of *English* bloud were forbidden to marry and commerce with them, were repealed by [a] act of Parlament, in the raigne of our late Soveraigne King JAMES of ever blessed memory.

His proofes (although most of them conjecturall) concerning the originall of the language, customes of the Nations, and the first peopling of the severall parts of the Iland, are full of good reading; and doe shew a sound judgment. They may be further confirmed by comparing them with *Richard Creagh's* Booke *de linguâ Hibernicâ*, which is yet extant in the originall manuscript, & althogh mixed with matter of story, leaning too much to some fabulous traditions, yet in other respects worthy of light.

[a] *Vid. lib. Statut. Hibern. edit. Dubl. an.* 1621. *pag.* 427.

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Touching the generall scope intended by the author for the reformation of abuses and ill customes, This we may say, that although very many have taken paines in the same subject, during the raigne of Queene *Elizabeth*, and some before, as the [d] author of the booke intituled *Salus populi*, and after him [e] *Patrick Finglas*, cheife Baron of the Exchequer here, and afterwardes cheife Justice of the common pleas, yet none came so neere to the best grounds for reformation, a few passages excepted, as *Spenser* hath done in this. Some notes I have added, although not intending any, untill the fourth part of the Booke was printed.

[d] *Floruit sub. initium reg. Edw.* 4. [e] *Floruit sub. Hen.* 8.

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A

VIEW

OF THE

STATE OF IRELAND,

WRITTEN DIALOGUE-WISE BETWEENE EUDOXUS AND IRENÆUS.

Eudox. BUT if that countrey of Ireland, whence you lately came, be of so goodly and commodious a soyl, as you report, I wonder that no course is taken for the turning thereof to good uses, and reducing that nation to better government and civility.

Iren. Marry so there have bin divers good plottes devised, and wise councels cast already about reformation of that realme, but they say, it is the fatall destiny of that land, that no purposes whatsoever which are meant for her good, will prosper or take good effect, which, whether it proceed from the very genius of the soyle, or influence of the starres, or that Almighty God hath not yet appointed the time of her reformation, or that hee reserveth her in this unquiet state still for some secret scourge, which shall by her come unto England, it is hard to be knowne, but yet much to be feared.

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Eudox. Surely I suppose this but a vaine conceipt of simple men, which judge things by their effects, and not by their causes; for I would rather thinke the cause of this evill, which hangeth upon that countrey, to proceed rather of the unsoundnes of the councels, and plots, which you say have bin oftentimes laid for the reformation, or of faintnes in following and effecting the same, then of any such fatall course appointed of God, as you misdeem; but it is the manner of men, that when they are fallen into any absurdity, or their actions succeede not as they would, they are alwayes readie to impute the blame thereof unto the heavens, so to excuse their owne follies and imperfections. So have I heard it often wished also, (even of some whose great wisedomes in opinion should seeme to judge more soundly of so weighty a consideration) that all that land were a sea-poole; which kinde of speech, is the manner rather of desperate men farre driven, to wish the utter ruine of that which they cannot redress, then of grave councellors, which ought to think nothing so hard, but that thorough wisedome, it may be mastered and subdued, since the Poet saith, that "the wise man shall rule even over the starres," much more over the earth; for were it not the part of a desperate phisitian to wish his diseased patient dead, rather then to apply the best indeavour of his skill for his recovery. But since we are so farre entered, let us, I pray you, a little devise of those evils, by which that country is held in this wretched case, that it cannot (as you say)

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be recured. And if it be not paineful to you, tell us what things during your late continuance there, you observed to bee most offensive, and greatest impeachment to the good rule and government thereof.

Iren. Surely Eudox. The evils which you desire to be recounted are very many, and almost countable with those which were hidden in the basket of Pandora. But since you please, I will out of that infinite number, reckon but some that are most capitall, and commonly occurrant both in the life and conditions of private men, as also in the managing of publicke affaires and pollicy, the which you shall understand to be of divers natures, as I observed them: for some of them are of verie great antiquitie and continuance; others more late and of lesse indurance; others dayly growing and increasing continuallie by their evill occasions, which are every day offered.

Eudox. Tell them then, I pray you, in the same order that you have now rehearsed them; for there can be no better method then this which the very matter itselfe offereth. And when you have reckoned all the evils, let us heare your opinion for the redressing of them: after which there will perhaps of it selfe appeare some reasonable way to settle a sound and perfect rule of government, by shunning the former evils, and following the offered good. The which method we may learne of the wise Phisitians, which first require that the malady be knowne thoroughly,

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and discovered: afterwards to teach how to cure and redresse it: and lastly doe prescribe a dyet, with straight rule and orders to be dayly observed, for feare of relapse into the former disease, or falling into some other more dangerous then it.

Iren. I will then according to your advisement begin to declare the evils, which seeme to me most hurtfull to the common-weale of that land; and first, those (I say) which were most auncient and long growne. And they also are of three sorts: The first in the Lawes, the second in Customes, and the last in Religion.

Eudox. Why, Irenæus, can there be any evill in the Lawes; can things, which are ordained for the good and safety of all, turne to the evill and hurt of them? This well I wote both in that state, and in all other, that were they not contained in duty with feare of law, which restraineth offences, and inflicteth sharpe punishment to misdoers, no man should enjoy any thing; every mans hand would be against another. Therefore, in finding fault with the lawes, I doubt me, you shall much over-shoote your selfe, and make me the more dislike your other dislikes of that government.

Iren. The lawes Eudox. I doe not blame for themselves, knowing right well that all lawes are ordained for the good of the common-weale, and for repressing

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of licentiousness and vice; but it falleth out in lawes, no otherwise then it doth in physick, which was at first devised, and is yet daylie ment, and ministred for the health of the patient. But neverthelesse we often see, that either thorough ignorance of the disease, or thorough unseasonablenesse of the time, or other accidents comming betweene, in stead of good, it worketh hurt, and, out of one evill, throweth the patient into many miseries. So the lawes were at first intended for the reformation of abuses, and peaceable continuance of the subject; but are sithence either disannulled, or quite prevaricated thorough change and alteration of times, yet are they good still in themselves; but, in that commonwealth which is ruled by them, they worke not that good which they should, and sometimes also that evill which they would not.

Eudox. Whether doe you mean this by the common-lawes of that realme, or by the Statute Lawes, and acts of Parliaments?

Iren. Surely by them both; for even the common law being that which William of Normandy brought in with his conquest, and laid upon the neck of England, though perhaps it fitted well with the state of England then being, and was readily obeyed thorough the power of the commander, which had before subdued the people unto him, and made easie way to the setling of his will, yet with the state of Ireland per-

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adventure it doth not so well agree, being a people very stubborne, and untamed, or if it were ever tamed, yet now lately having quite shooken off their yoake, and broken the bonds of their obedience. For England (before the entrance of the Conqueror) was a peaceable kingdome, and but lately inured to the milde and goodly government of Edward, surnamed the Confessor; besides now lately growne into a loathing and detestation of the unjust and tyrannous rule of Harold an usurper, which made them the more willing to accept of any reasonable conditions and order of the new victor, thinking surely that it could be no worse then the latter, and hoping well it would be as good as the former; yet what the proofe of first bringing in and establishing of those lawes was, was to many full bitterly made knowne. But with Ireland it is farre otherwise; for it is a nation ever acquainted with warres, though but amongst themselves, and in their owne kinde of military discipline, trayned up ever from their youthes, which they have never yet beene taught to lay aside, nor made to learn obedience unto lawes, scarcely to know the name of law, but in stead thereof have alwayes preserved and kept their owne law, which is the Brehon law.

Eudox. What is that which you call the Brehon law? it is a word unto us altogether unknowne.

Iren. It is a rule of right unwritten, but delivered by tradition from one to another, in which oftentimes

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there appeareth great shew of equity, in determining the right betweene party and party, but in many things repugning quite both to Gods law, and mans: As for example in the case of Murder, the Brehon, that is their judge, will compound betweene the murderer, and the friends of the party murdered, which prosecute the action, that the malefactor shall give unto them, or to the child, or wife of him that is slain a recompence, which they call an Eriach: By which vilde law of theirs, many murders amongst them are made up, and smothered. And this judge being as hee is called the Lords Brehon, adjudgeth for the most part, a better share unto his Lord, that is the Lord of the soyle, or * the head of that sept, and also unto himselfe for his judgement a greater portion, then unto the plaintiffes or parties grieved.

Eudox. This is a most wicked law indeed: but I trust it is not now used in Ireland, since the kings of England have had the absolute dominion thereof, and established their owne lawes there.

Iren. Yes truly; for there be many wide countries in Ireland, which the lawes of England were never established in, nor any acknowledgment of subjec-

* *the head of that* sept,] *Sept* is *family*. So, in Moryson's *Itinerary*, fol. 1617. Part second, p. 1. "The Oneale, a fatall name to the chiefe of the SEPT or *family* of the Oneales, &c." See also Percy's *Reliques of Anc. Poetry*, 4th edit. vol. i. p. 119. And the *Hist. of the Gwedir Family*, note in p. 66. TODD.

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tion made, and also even in those which are subdued, and seeme to acknowledge subjection; yet the same Brehon law is practised among themselves, by reason, that, dwelling as they doe, whole nations and septs of the Irish together, without any Englishman amongst them, they may doe what they list, and compound or altogether conceale amongst themselves their owne crimes, of which no notice can be had, by them which would and might amend the same, by the rule of the lawes of England.

Eudox. What is this which you say? And is there any part of that realme, or any nation therein, which have not yet beene subdued to the crowne of England? Did not the whole realme universally accept and acknowledge our late Prince of famous memory Henry the viiith for their onely King and Liege Lord?

Iren. Yes verily: in a Parliament holden in the time of Sir Anthony Saint-Leger, then Lord Deputy, all the Irish Lords and principall men came in, and being by faire meanes wrought thereunto, acknowledged King Henry for their Soveraigne Lord, reserving yet (as some say) unto themselves all their owne former priviledges and seignories inviolate.

Eudox. Then by that acceptance of his soveraignty they also accepted of his lawes. Why then should any other lawes be now used amongst them?

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Iren. True it is that thereby they bound themselves to his lawes and obedience, and in case it had beene followed upon them, as it should have beene, and a government thereupon setled among them agreeable thereunto, they should have beene reduced to perpetuall civilitie, and contained in continuall duty. But what bootes it to break a colte, and to let him straight runne loose at randoms. So were these people at first well handled, and wisely brought to acknowledge allegiance to the Kings of England: but, being straight left unto themselves and their owne inordinate life and manners, they eftsoones forgot what before they were taught, and so soone as they were out of sight, by themselves shook of their bridles, and beganne to colte anew, more licentiously than before.

Eudox. It is a great pittie, that so good an opportunity was omitted, and [b] so happie an occasion foreslacked, that might have beene the eternall good of the land. But doe they not still acknowledge that submission?

Iren. No, they doe not: for now the heires and posterity of them which yeelded the same, are (as they say) either ignorant thereof, or do wilfully deny, or steadfastly disavow it.

[b] *so happie an occasion foreslacked.*] *Delayed.* See F. Q. v. xii. 3. Todd.

Eudox. How can they so doe justly? Doth not the act of the parent in any lawfull graunt or conveyance, bind their heires for ever thereunto? Sith then the auncestors of those that now live, yeelded themselves then subjects and liegemen, shall it not tye their children to the same subjection?

Iren. They say no: for their auncestors had no estate in any their lands, seigniories, or hereditaments, longer then during their owne lifes, as they alledge, for all the Irish doe hold their land by Tanistrie; which is (say they) no more but a personall estate for his life time, that is, Tanist, by reason that he is admitted thereunto by election of the countrey.

Eudox. What is this which you call Tanist and Tanistry? They be names and termes never heard of nor knowne to us.

Iren. It is a custome amongst all the Irish, that presently after the death of any of their chiefe Lords or Captaines, they doe presently assemble themselves to a place generally appointed and knowne unto them to choose another in his steed, where they doe nominate and elect for the most part, not the eldest sonne, nor any of the children of the Lord deceased, but the next to him of blood, that is the eldest and worthiest, as commonly the next brother unto him if he have any, or the next cousin, or so forth, as any is

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elder in that kinred or sept, and then next to him doe they choose the next of the blood to be Tanist, who shall next succeed him in the said Captainry, if he live thereunto.

Eudox. Doe they not use any ceremony in this election? for all barbarous nations are commonly great observers of ceremonies and superstitious rites.

Iren. They use to place him that shalbe their Captaine, upon a stone alwayes reserved for that purpose, and placed commonly upon a hill: In some of which I have seen formed and ingraven a foot, which they say was the measure of their first Captaines foot, whereon hee standing, receives an oath to preserve all the auncient former customes of the countrey inviolable, and to deliver up the succession peaceably to his Tanist, and then hath a wand delivered unto him by some whose proper office that is: after which, descending from the stone, he turneth himselfe round, thrice forward, and thrice backward.

Eudox. But how is the Tanist chosen?

Iren. They say he setteth but one foot upon the stone, and receiveth the like oath that the Captaine did.

Eudox. Have you ever heard what was the occasion and first beginning of this custome? for it is good

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to know the same, and may perhaps discover some secret meaning and intent therein, very materiall to the state of that government.

Iren. I have heard that the beginning and cause of this ordinance amongst the Irish, was specially for the defence and maintenance of their lands in their posteritie, and for excluding all innovation or alienation thereof unto strangers, and specially to the English. For when their Captaine dieth, if the signiorie should descend to his child, and he perhaps an infant, another might peradventure step in between, or thrust him out by strong hand, being then unable to defend his right, or to withstand the force of a forreiner; and therefore they doe appoint the eldest of the kinne to have the signiorie, for that he commonly is a man of stronger years, and better experience to maintain the inheritance, and to defend the countrey, either against the next bordering Lords, which use commonly to incroach one upon another, as one is stronger, or against the English, which they thinke lye still in waite to wype them out of their lands and territoryes. And to this end the Tanist is alwayes ready knowne, if it should happen the Captaine suddenly to dye, or to be slaine in battell, or to be out of the countrey, to defend and keepe it from all such doubts and dangers. For which cause the Tanist hath also a share of the countrey allotted unto him, and certaine cuttings and spendings upon all the inhabitants under the Lord.

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Eudox. When I hear this word Tanist, it bringeth to my remembrance what I have read of Tania, that it should signifie a province or seigniorie, as Aquitania, Lusitania, and Britania, the which some thinke to be derived of Dania, that is, from the Danes, but, I think, amisse. But sure it seemeth, that it came anciently from those barbarous nations that over-ranne the world, which possessed those dominions, whereof they are now so called. And so it may well be that from thence [c] the first originall of this word Tanist and Tanistry came, and the custome thereof hath sithence, as many others else beene continued. But to that generall subjection of the land, whereof wee formerly spake, me seemes that this custome or tenure can be no barre nor impeachment, seeing that in open Parliament by their said acknowledgement they waved the benefite thereof, and submitted themselves to the benefite of their new Soveraigne.

Iren. Yea, but they say, as I earst tolde you, that they reserved their titles, tenures, and seigniories whole and sound to themselves, and for proof alledge, that they have ever sithence remained to them untouched, so as now to alter them, should, (say they) be a great wrong.

[c] *the first originall of this word Tanist and Tanistry came,*] See whether it may not be more fitly derived from Thane, which word was commonly used among the Danes, and also among the Saxons in England, for a noble man, and a principall officer. SIR JAMES WARE.

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Eudox. What remedie is there then, or meanes to avoide this inconvenience? for, without first cutting of this dangerous custome, it seemeth hard to plant any sound ordinance, or reduce them to a civill government, since all their ill customes are permitted unto them.

Iren. Surely nothing hard: for by this Act of Parliament whereof wee speake, nothing was given to King Henry which he had not before from his auncestors, but onely the bare name of a King; for all other absolute power of principality he had in himselfe before derived from many former Kings, his famous progenitours and worthy conquerours of that land. The which, sithence they first conquered and by force subdued unto them, what needed afterwards to enter into any such idle termes with them to be called their King, when it is in the power of the conqueror to take upon himself what title he will, over his dominions conquered. For all is the conquerours, as Tully to Brutus saith. Therefore (me seemes) instead of so great and meritorious a service as they boast they performed to the King, in bringing all the Irish to acknowledge him for their Liege, they did great hurt unto his title, and have left a perpetuall gall in the minde of the people, who before being absolutely bound to his obedience, are now tyed with but termes, whereas else both their lives, their lands, and their liberties were in his free power to appoint what tenures, what lawes, what conditions hee

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would over them, which were all his: against which there could be no rightfull resistance, or if there were, he might, when he would, establish them with a stronger hand.

Eudox. Yea, but perhaps it seemed better unto that noble King to bring them by their owne accord to his obedience, and to plant a peaceable government amongst them, then by such violent means to pluck them under. Neither yet hath he thereby lost any thing that he formerly had; for, having all before absolutely in his owne power, it remaineth so still unto him, he having thereby neither forgiven nor forgone any thing thereby unto them, but having received somthing from them, that is, a more voluntary and loyall subjection. So as her Majesty may yet, when it shall please her, alter any thing of those former ordinances, or appoint other lawes, that may be more both for her owne behoofe, and for the good of that people.

Iren. Not so: for it is not so easie, now that things are growne unto an habit, and have their certaine course to change the channell, and turne their streames another way, for they may have now a colorable pretence to withstand such innovations, having accepted of other lawes and rules already.

Eudox. But you say they do not accept of them, but delight rather to leane to their old customes and

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Brehon lawes, though they be more unjust and also more inconvenient for the common people, as by your late relation of them I have gathered. As for the lawes of England they are surely most just and most agreeable, both with the government and with the nature of the people. How falls it then that you seeme to dislike of them, as not so meete for that realme of Ireland, and not onely the common Law, but also the Statutes and Actes of Parliament, which were specially provided and intended for the onlie benefit thereof?

Iren. I was about to have told you my reason therein, but that your selfe drew me away with other questions, for I was shewing you by what meanes, and by what sort the positive lawes were first brought in and established by the Norman Conquerour: which were not by him devised nor applyed to the state of the realme then being, nor as yet might best be, (as should by lawgivers principally be regarded) but were indeed the very lawes of his owne countrey of Normandie. The condition whereof, how farre it differeth from this of England, is apparent to every least judgement. But to transferre the same lawes for the governing of the realme of Ireland, was much more inconvenient and unmeete; for he found a better advantage of the time, then was in the planting of them in Ireland, and followed the execution of them with more severity, and was also present in person to overlooke the Magistrates, and to overawe these subjects

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with the terrour of his sword, and countenance of his Majesty. But not so in Ireland, for they were otherwise affected, and yet doe so remaine, so as the same lawes (me seemes) can ill fit with their disposition, or worke that reformation that is wished. For lawes ought to be fashioned unto the manners and conditions of the people, to whom they are meant, and not to be imposed upon them according to the simple rule of right, for then (as I said) in stead of good they may worke ill, and pervert iustice to extreame iniustice. For hee that transferres the lawes of the Lacedemonians to the people of Athens, should finde a great absurditie and inconvenience. For those lawes of Lacedemon were devised by Licurgus as most proper and best agreeing with that people, whom hee knew to be enclined altogether to warres, and therefore wholly trained them up even from their cradles in armes and military exercises, cleane contrary to the institution of Solon, who, in his lawes to the Athenians, laboured by all meanes to temper their warlike courages with sweet delightes of learning and sciences, so that asmuch as the one excelled in armes, the other exceeded in knowledge. The like regard and moderation ought to be had in tempering, and managing, this stubborne nation of the Irish to bring them from their delight of licentious barbarisme unto the love of goodnes and civilitie.

Eudox. I cannot see how that may better be then by the discipline of the lawes of England: for the

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English were, at first, as stoute and warlike a people as ever the Irish, and yet you see are now brought unto that civillity, that no nation in the world excelleth them in all goodly conversation, and all the studies of knowledge and humanitie.

Iren. What they now be, both you and I see very well, but by how many thornie and hard wayes they are come thereunto, by how many civill broiles, by how many tumultuous rebellions, that even hazzarded oftentimes the whole safety of the kingdome, may easily be considered: all which they neverthelesse fairely overcame, by reason of the continuall presence of their King; whose onely person is oftentimes in stead of an army, to containe the unrulie people from a thousand evill occasions, which this wretched kingdome, for want thereof, is dayly carried into. The which, whensoever they make head, no lawes, no penalties, can restraine, but that they doe, in the violence of that furie, tread downe and trample under foote all both divine and humane things, and the lawes themselves they doe specially rage at, and rend in peeces, as most repugnant to their libertie and naturall freedome, which in their madnes they affect.

Eudox. It is then a very unseasonable time to plead law, when swords are in the hands of the vulgar, or to thinke to retaine them with feare of punishments,

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when they looke after liberty, and shake off all government.

Iren. Then so it is with Ireland continually, Eudoxus; for the sword was never yet out of their hand, but when they are weary of warres, and brought downe to extreame wretchednesse; then they creepe a little perhaps and sue for grace, till they have gotten new breath and recovered their strength againe. So as it is vaine to speake of planting lawes, and plotting pollicie, till they be altogether subdued.

Eudox. Were they not so at the first conquering of them by Strongbowe, in the time of King Henry the second? was there not a thorough way then made by the sword, for the imposing of the lawes upon them? and were they not then executed with such a mightie hand as you said was used by the Norman Conquerour? What oddes is there then in this case? why should not the same lawes take as good effect in that people as they did here, being in like sort prepared by the sword, and brought under by extreamity? and why should they not continue in as good force and vigour for the containing of the people?

Iren. The case yet is not like, but there appeareth great oddes betweene them: for, by the conquest of Henry the second, true it is that the Irish were utterly vanquished and subdued, so as no enemy was able to hold up head against his power, in which

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their weaknes hee brought in his lawes, and settled them as now they there remaine; like as William the Conquerour did; so as in thus much they agree; but in the rest, that is the chiefest, they varie: for to whom did King Henry the second impose those lawes? not to the Irish, for the most part of them fled from his power, into deserts and mountaines, leaving the wyde countrey to the conquerour: who in their stead eftsoones placed English men, who possessed all their lands and did quite shut out the Irish, or the most part of them. And to those new inhabitants and colonies he gave his lawes, to wit, the same lawes under which they were borne and bred, the which it was no difficultie to place amongst them, being formerly well inured thereunto; unto whom afterwards there repaired diverse of the poore distressed people of the Irish, for succour and reliefe; of whom, such as they thought fit for labour, and industriously disposed, as the most part of their baser sort are, they received unto them as their vassalls, but scarcely vouchsafed to impart unto them the benefit of those lawes, under which themselves lived, but every one made his will and commandement a law unto his owne vassall: thus was not the law of England ever properly applyed unto the Irish nation, as by a purposed plot of government, but as they could insinuate and steale themselves under the same, by their humble carriage and submission.

Eudox. How comes it then to passe, that having beene once so low brought, and thoroughly subjected,

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they afterwards lifted up themselves so strongly againe, and sithence doe stand so stiffely against all rule and government?

Iren. They say that they continued in that lowlinesse, untill the time that the division betweene the two houses of Lancaster and York arose for the crowne of England: at which time all the great English Lords and Gentlemen, which had great possessions in Ireland, repaired over hither into England, some to succour their friends here, and to strengthen their partie for to obtain the crowne; others to defend their lands and possessions here against such as hovered after the same upon hope of the alteration of the kingdome, and successe of that side which they favoured and affected. Then the Irish whom before they had banished into the mountaines, where they lived onely upon white meates, as it is recorded, seeing now their lands so dispeopled, and weakened, came downe into all the plaines adjoyning, and thence expelling those few English that remained, repossessed them againe, since which they have remained in them, and, growing greater, have brought under them many of the English, which were before their Lords. This was one of the occasions by which all those countreys, which lying neere unto any mountaines or Irish desarts, had beene planted with English, were shortly displanted and lost. As namely in Mounster all the lands adjoyning unto Slewlogher, Arlo, and the bog of Allon. In Connaght all the

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Countries bordering upon the Curlues, Mointerolis, and Orourkes countrey. In Leinster all the lands bordering unto the mountaines of Glanmalour, unto Shillelah, unto the Brackenah, and Polmonte. In Ulster, all the countreys near unto Tirconnel, Tyrone, and the Scottes.

Eudox. Surely this was a great violence: but yet by your speach it seemeth that onely the countreys and valleyes neere adjoining unto those mountaines and desarts, were thus recovered by the Irish: but how comes it now that we see almost all that realme repossessed of them? Was there any more such evill occasions growing by the troubles of England? Or did the Irish, out of those places so by them gotten, break further and stretch themselves out thorough the whole land? for now, for ought that I can understand, there is no part but the bare English Pale, in which the Irish have not the greatest footing.

Iren. Both out of these small beginnings by them gotten neare to the mountaines, did they spread themselves into the inland; and also, to their further advantage, there did other like unhappy accidents happen out of England; which gave heart and good opportunity to them to regaine their old possessions: For, in the raigne of King Edward the fourth, things remained yet in the same state that they were after the late breaking out of the Irish, which I spake of; and that noble Prince began to cast an eye unto Ire-

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land, and to minde the reformation of things there runne amisse: for he sent over his brother the worthy [d] Duke of Clarence, who having married the heire of the Earle of Ulster, and by her having all the Earledome of Ulster, and much in Meath and in Mounster, very carefully went about the redressing of all those late evills, and though he could not beate out the Irish againe, by reason of his short continuance, yet hee did shut them up within those narrow corners and glennes under the mountaines foote, in which they lurked, and so kept them from breaking any further, by building strong holdes upon every border, and fortifying all passages. Amongst the which hee repaired the castle of Clare in Thomond, of which countrey he had the inheritance, and of Mortimers lands adjoyning, which is now (by the Irish) called Killaloe. But the times of that good King growing also troublesome, did lett the thorough reformation of all things. And thereunto

[d] *Duke of Clarence, who having married the heire of the Earle of Ulster,* &c.] It was not George Duke of Clarence here spoken of by the author, but * Lionell Duke of Clarence, third soone of King Edw. the 3. who married the earle of Ulsters daughter, and by her had the earledome of Ulster; and although Edw. the 4. made his brother the duke of Clarence, Lo. Lieutenant of Ireland, yet the place was still executed by his Deputyes (which were at severall times) Thomas earle of Desmond, Iohn Earle of Worcester, Tho. Earle of Kildare, and William Shirwood Bishop of Meth, the Duke himselfe never comming into Ireland to governe there in person.

SIR JAMES WARE.

* *De hac re vide Camd. Britan.* p. 336. & *Annal. Hib. ab eo edit. ad an.* 1361.

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soone after was added another fatall mischiefe, which wrought a greater calamity then all the former. For the said Duke of Clarence, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was, by practise of evill persons about the King, his brother, called thence away: and soone after, by sinister meanes, was cleane made away. Presently after whose death, all the North revolting, did set up Oneale for their Captaine, being before that of small power and regard: and there arose in that part of Thomond, one of the O-Briens, called Murrogh en-Ranagh, that is, Morrice of the Ferne, or wast wilde places, who, gathering unto him all the reliques of the discontented Irish, eftsoones surprised the said castle of Clare, burnt, and spoyled all the English there dwelling, and in short space possessed all that countrey beyond the river of Shanan and neere adjoyning: whence shortly breaking forth like a suddaine tempest he over-ran all Mounster and Connaght; breaking downe all the holds and fortresses of the English, defacing and utterly subverting all corporate townes, that were not strongly walled: for those he had no meanes nor engines to overthrow, neither indeed would hee stay at all about them, but speedily ran forward, counting his suddennesse his most advantage, that he might overtake the English before they could fortifie or gather themselves together. So in short space hee cleane wyped out many great townes, as first Inchequin, then Killalow, before called Clariford, also Thurles, Mourne, Buttevant, and many others, whose names I cannot

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remember, and of some of which there is now no memory nor signe remaining. Upon report whereof there flocked unto him all the scumme of the Irish out of all places, that ere long he had a mighty army, and thence marched foorth into Leinster, where he wrought great out-rages, wasting all the countrey where he went; for it was his policie to leave no hold behinde him, but to make all plaine and waste. In which he soone after created himselfe King, and was called King of all Ireland; which before him I doe not reade that any did so generally, but onely Edward le Bruce.

Eudox. What? was there ever any generall King of all Ireland? I never heard it before, but that it was alwayes (whilst it was under the Irish) divided into foure, and sometimes into five kingdomes or dominions. But this Edward le Bruce, what was hee, that could make himselfe King of all Ireland?

Iren. I would tell you, in case you would not challenge me anon for forgetting the matter which I had in hand, that is, the inconvenience and unfitnesse which I supposed to be in the lawes of the land.

Eudox. No surely, I have no cause, for neither is this impertinent thereunto; for sithence you did set your course (as I remember in your first part) to treate of the evils which hindered the peace and good

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ordering of that land, amongst which, that of the inconvenience in the lawes, was the first which you had in hand, this discourse of the over-running and wasting of the realme, is very materiall thereunto, for that it was the begining of al the other evils, which sithence have afflicted that land, and opened a way unto the Irish to recover their possession, and to beat out the English which had formerly wonne the same. And besides, it will give a great light both unto the second and third part, which is the redressing of those evils, and planting of some good forme or policy therin, by renewing the remembrance of these occasions and accidents, by which those ruines hapned, and laying before us the ensamples of those times, to be compared to ours, and to be warned by those which shall have to doe in the like. Therefore I pray you tell them unto us, and as for the point where you left, I will not forget afterwards to call you backe againe thereunto.

Iren. This Edw. le Bruce was brother of Robert le Bruce, who was King of Scotland, at such time as King Edward the second raigned here in England, and bare a most malicious and spightfull minde against King Edward, doing him all the scathe that hee could, and annoying his territoryes of England, whilest he was troubled with civill warres of his Barons at home. Hee also, to worke him the more mischiefe, sent over his said brother Edward with a power of Scottes and Red-shankes into Ireland,

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where, by the meanes of the Lacies, and of the Irish with whom they combined, they gave footing, and gathering unto him all the [e] scatterlings and outlawes out of all the woods and mountaines, in which they long had lurked, marched foorth into the English Pale, which then was chiefly in the North, from the point of Donluce, and beyond unto Dublin: having in the middest of her Knockfergus, Belfast, Armagh, and Carlingford, which are now the most outbounds and abandoned places in the English Pale, and indeede not counted of the English Pale at all: for it stretcheth now no further then Dundalke towardes the North. There the said Edward le Bruce spoyled and burnt all the olde English Pale inhabitants, and sacked and rased all citties and corporate townes, no lesse then Murrough en Ranagh, of whom I earst tolde you: For hee wasted Belfast, Green-Castle, Kelles, Bellturbut, Castletowne, Newton, and many other very good townes and strong holdes: he rooted out the noble families of the Audlies, Talbotts, Tuchets, Chamberlaines, Maundevills, and the Savages out of Ardes, though of the Lo. Savage their remaineth yet an heire, that is now a poore gentleman of very meane condition, yet dwelling in the Ardes. And coming lastly to Dundalke, hee there made himselfe King, and raigned the space of one whole yeare, untill that Edward King of England,

[e] *scatterlings and outlawes*] See the note on F. Q. ii. x. 63. He uses *scatterlings* for *ravagers* again in this View of the State of Ireland. Todd.

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having set some quiet in his affaires at home, sent over the Lord Iohn Birmingham to be Generall of the warres against him, who, incountering him neere to Dundalke, over-threw his army, and slew him. Also hee presently followed the victory so hotly upon the Scottes, that hee suffered them not to breathe, or gather themselves together againe, untill they came to the sea-coast. Notwithstanding all the way that they fledde, for very rancor and despight, in their returne, they utterly consumed and wasted whatsoever they had before left unspoyled, so as of all townes, castles, forts, bridges, and habitations, they left not any sticke standing, nor any people remayning; for those few, which yet survived, fledde from their fury further into the English Pale that now is. Thus was all that goodly countrey utterly wasted. And sure it is yet a most beautifull and sweet countrey as any is under heaven, being stored throughout with many goodly rivers, replenished with all sorts of fish most abundantly, sprinkled with many very sweet ilands and goodly lakes, like little inland seas, that will carry even shippes upon their waters, adorned with goodly woods even fit for building of houses and ships, so commodiously, as that if some Princes in the world had them, they would soone hope to be lords of all the seas, and ere long of all the world: also full of very good ports and havens opening upon England, as inviting us to come unto them, to see what excellent commodities that countrey can afford, besides the soyle it selfe

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most fertile, fit to yeeld all kinde of fruit that shall be committed thereunto. And lastly, the heavens most milde and temperate, though somewhat more moist then the parts towards the West.

Eudox. Truly Iren. what with your praises of the countrey, and what with your discourse of the lamentable desolation therof, made by those Scottes, you have filled mee with a great compassion of their calamities, that I doe much pity that sweet land, to be subject to so many evills as I see more and more to be layde upon her, and doe halfe beginne to thinke, that it is (as you said at the beginning) her fatall misfortune above all other countreyes that I know, to bee thus miserably tossed and turmoyled with these variable stormes of affliction. But since wee are thus far entred into the consideration of her mishaps, tell mee, have there beene any more such tempests, as you term them, wherein she hath thus wretchedly beene wracked?

Iren. Many more, God wot, have there beene, in which principall parts have beene rent and torne asunder, but none (as I can remember) so universall as this. And yet the rebellion of Thomas Fitz Garret did well-nyc stretch it selfe into all parts of Ireland. But that, which was in the time of the government of the Lord Grey, was surely no lesse generall then all those; for there was no part free from the contagion, but all conspired in one, to cast off their

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subiection to the crowne of England. Neverthelesse thorough the most wise and valiant handling of that right noble Lord, it got not the head which the former evills found; for in them the realme was left like a ship in a storm, amidst all the raging surges, unruled, and undirected of any: for they to whom she was committed, either fainted in their labour, or forsooke their charge. But hee (like a most wise pilote,) kept her course carefully, and held her most strongly even against those roaring billowes, that he safely brought her out of all; so as long after, even by the space of 12 or 13 whole yeares, she roade at peace, thorough his onely paines and excellent indurance, [f] how ever Envy list to blatter against him. But of this wee shall have more occasion to speak in another place. Now (if you please) let us returne againe unto our first course.

Eudox. Truely I am very glad to heare your iudgement of the government of that honourable man so soundly; for I have heard it oftentimes maligned, and his doings depraved of some, who (I perceive) did rather of malicious minde, or private grievance, seeke to detract from the honour of his deeds and counsels, then of any iust cause: but he was neverthelesse, in the iudgements of all good and wise men, defended and maintained. And now that he

[f] *however Envy list to* blatter *against him.*] To *blatter* is to *rail* or *rage.* Thus the *Blatant* Beast is described with various *barking* tongues, F. Q. vi. xii. 27. TODD.

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is dead, his immortall fame surviveth, and flourisheth in the mouthes of all people, that even those which did backbite him, are checked with their owne venome, and breake their galls to heare his so honourable report. But let him rest in peace; and turne we to our more troublesome matters of discourse, of which I am right sorry that you make so short an end, and covet to passe over to your former purposes; for there be many other parts of Ireland, which I have heard have bin no lesse vexed with the like stormes, then these which you have treated of, as the countreyes of the Birnes and Tooles near Dublin, with the insolent out-rages and spoyles of Feagh mac Hugh, the countreyes of Catherlagh, Wexford, and Waterford, by the Cavenaghes. The countreyes of Leix, Kilkenny, and Kildare by the O Moores. The countreyes of Ofaly and Longford by the Connors. The countreyes of Westmeath, Cavan, and Lowth, by the O Relyes, and the Kellyes, and many others, so as the discoursing of them, besides the pleasure which would redound out of their history, be also very profitable for matters of policy.

Iren. All this which you have named, and many more besides, often times have I right well knowne, and yet often doe kindle great fires of tumultuous broyles in the countreyes bordering upon them. All which to rehearse, should rather bee to chronicle times, then to search into reformation of abuses in that realme; and yet very needfull it will bee to

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consider them, and the evills which they have often stirred up, that some redresse thereof, and prevention of the evills to come, may thereby rather be devised. But I suppose wee shall have a fitter opportunity for the same, when wee shall speake of the particular abuses and enormities of the government, which will be next after these generall defects and inconveniences which I saide were in the lawes, customes, and religion.

Eudox. Goe to them a Gods name, and follow the course which you have promised to your selfe, for it fitteth best, I must confesse, with the purpose of our discourse. Declare your opinion as you began about the lawes of the realme, what incommoditie you have conceived to bee in them, chiefly in the Common Law, which I would have thought most free from all such dislike.

Iren. The Common Law is (as I saide before) of itselfe most rightfull and very convenient (I suppose) for the kingdome, for which it was first devised: for this (I thinke) as it seemes reasonable, that out of your manners of your people, and abuses of your countrey, for which they were invented, they take their first beginning, or else they should bee most uniust; for no lawes of man (according to the straight rule of right) are iust, but as in regard of the evills which they prevent, and the safety of the commonweale which they provide for. As for example, in

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your true ballancing of iustice, it is a flat wrong to punish the thought or purpose of any before it bee enacted; for true iustice punisheth nothing but the evill act or wicked word, that by the lawes of all kingdomes it is a capitall crime to devise or purpose the death of your King: the reason is, for that when such a purpose is effected, it should then bee too late to devise thereof, and should turne the common-wealth to more losse by the death of their Prince, then such punishment of the malefactors. And therefore the law in that case punisheth the thought; for better is a mischiefe, then an inconvenience. So that *ius politicum*, though it bee not of it selfe iust, yet by application, or rather necessity, it is made iust; and this onely respect maketh all lawes iust. Now then, if these lawes of Ireland bee not likewise applyed and fitted for that realme, they are sure very inconvenient.

Eudox. You reason strongly: but what unfitnesse doe you finde in them for that realme? shew us some particulars.

Iren. The Common Law appointeth, that all tryalls, as well of crimes, as titles and rights, shall bee made by verdict of a iury, chosen out of the honest and most substantiall free-holders. Now, most of the free-holders of that realme are Irish, which when the cause shall fall betwixt an English-man and an Irish,

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or betweene the Queene and any free-holder of that countrey, they make no more scruple to passe against an Englishman, and the Queene, though it bee to strayn their oathes, then to drinke milke unstrayned. So that before the iury goe together, it is all to nothing what the verdict shall be. The tryall have I so often seene, that I dare confidently avouch the abuse thereof. Yet is the law, of itselfe, (as I said) good; and the first institution thereof being given to all Englishmen very rightfully, but now that the Irish have stepped into the very roomes of our English, wee are now to become heedfull and provident in iuryes.

Eudox. In sooth, Iren. you have discovered a point worthy the consideration; for heereby not onely the English subiect findeth no indifferencie in deciding of his cause, bee it never so iust; but the Queene, aswell in all pleas of the crowne, as also in inquiries for escheates, lands attainted, wardshipps, concealments, and all such like, is abused and exceedingly damaged.

Iren. You say very true; for I dare undertake, that at this day there are more attainted lands, concealed from her Majestie, then shee hath now possessions in all Ireland; and it is no small inconvenience; for, besides that shee looseth so much land as should turne to her great profite, shee besides looseth so many good subiects, which might bee assured unto

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her; as those landes would yeeld inhabitants and living unto.

Eudox. But doth many of that people (say you) make no more conscience to perjure themselves in their verdicts, and damne their soules?

Iren. Not onely so in their verdicts, but also in all other their dealings; especially with the English, they are most willfully bent: for though they will not seeme manifestly to doe it, yet will some one or other subtle-headed fellow amongst them put some quirke, or devise some evasion, whereof the rest will likely take hold, and suffer themselves easily to be led by him to that themselves desired. For in the most apparent matter that may bee, the least question or doubt that may bee mooved, will make a stoppe unto them, and put them quite out of the way. Besides, that of themselves (for the most part) [g] they are so cautelous and wylie-headed, especially being men of so small experience and practice in law matters, that you would wonder whence they borrow such subtiltyes and slye shifts.

Eudox. But mee thinkes this inconvenience might bee much helped in the Iudges and Chiefe Magistrates which have the choosing and nomination of those iurors, if they would have dared to appoint

[g] *they are so* cautelous] *Cautious.* See the Gloss. Urry's Chaucer, in V. *Cautele.* TODD.

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So unpossible it is, to remove any fault so generall in a people, with terrour of lawes or most sharpe restraints.

Eudox. What meanes may there be then to avoyde this inconvenience? for the case seemes very hard.

Iren. We are not yet come to the point to devise remedies for the evils, but only have now to recount them; of the which, this which I have told you is one defect in the Common Law.

Eudox. Tell us then (I pray you) further, have you any more of this sort in the Common Law?

Iren. By rehearsall of this, I remember also of an other like, which I have often observed in trialls, to have wrought great hurt and hinderance, and that is, the exceptions which the Common Law alloweth a fellon in his tryall; for he may have (as you know) fifty-six exceptions peremptory against the iurors, of which he shal shew no cause. By which shift there being (as I have shewed you) so small store of honest iury-men, he will either put off his tryall, or drive it to such men as (perhaps) are not of the soundest sort, by whose meanes, if he can acquite himselfe of the crime, as he is likely, then will he plague such as were brought first to bee of his iurie, and all such as made any party against

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him. And when he comes forth, he will make their [i] cowes and garrons to walke, if he doe no other harme to their persons.

Eudox. This is a slye devise, but I thinke might soone bee remedied, but we must leave it a while to the rest. In the meane-while doe you goe forwards with others.

Iren. There is an other no lesse inconvenience then this, which is, the tryall of accessaries to fellony; for, by the Common Law, the accessaries cannot be proceeded against, till the principall have received his tryall. Now to the case, how it often falleth out in Ireland, that a stealth being made by a rebel, or an outlawe, the stolne goods are conveyed to some husbandman or gentleman, which hath well to take to, and yet liveth most by the receipt of such stealthes, where they are found by the owner, and handled: whereupon the partie is perhaps apprehended and committed to goal, or put upon sureties, till the sessions, at which time the owner preferring a bill of indictment, proveth sufficiently the stealth to have beene committed upon him, by such an outlaw, and to have beene found in the possession of the prisoner, against whom, neverthelesse, no course of law can proceede, nor tryall can be had, for that the

[i] *cowes and* garrons} *Garran* is an Erse word; still retained in Scotland, says Dr. Johnson. It means a *strong* or *hackney horse*. See Shaw's Galic Dictionary. TODD.

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principall theife is not to be gotten, notwithstanding that he likewise, standing perhaps indicted at once, with the receiver, being in rebellion, or in the woods: where peradventure he is slaine before he can be gotten, and so the receiver cleane acquitted and discharged of the crime. By which meanes the theeves are greatly incouraged to steale, and their maintainers imboldened to receive their stealthes, knowing how hardly they can be brought to any tryall of law.

Eudox. Truely this is a great inconvenience, and a great cause (as you say) of the maintenance of theeves, knowing their receivers alwayes ready; for, were there no receivers, there would be no theeves: but this (me seemes) might easily be provided for, by some Act of Parliament, that the receiver being convicted by good proofes might receive his tryall without the principall.

Iren. You say very true Eudox. but that is almost impossible to be compassed: And herein also you discover another imperfection, in the course of the Common Law, and first ordinance of the realme: for you know that the said Parliament must consist of the peeres, gentlemen, freeholders, and burgesses of that realme it selfe. Now these being perhaps themselves, or the most part of them (as may seeme by their stiffe with-standing of this Act) culpable of this crime, or favourers of their friends, which are

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such, by whom their kitchins are sometimes amended, will not suffer any such Statute to passe. Yet hath it oftentimes beene attempted, and in the time of Sir Iohn Parrot very earnestly (I remember) laboured, but could by no meanes be effected. And not onely this, but many other like, which are as needefull for the reformation of that realme.

Eudox. This also is surely a great defect, but wee may not talke (you say) of the redressing of this, untill our second part come, which is purposely appointed thereunto. Therefore proceed to the recounting of more such evils, if at least, you have any more.

Iren. There is also a great inconvenience, which hath wrought great dammage, both to her Majesty, and to that commonwealth, thorough close and colourable conveyances of the lands and goods of traytors, fellons, and fugitives. As when one of them mindeth to goe into rebellion, hee will convey away all his lands and lordships to feoffees in trust, wherby he reserveth to himselfe but a state for terme of life, which being determined either by the sword or by the halter, their lands straight commeth to their heire, and the Queen is defrauded of the intent of the law, which laide that grievous punishment upon traytors, to forfeite all their lands to the Prince; to the end that men might the rather be terrified from committing treasons; for many which would little esteeme of their owne lives, yet for re-

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morse of their wives and children would bee withheld from that haynous crime. This appeared plainely in the late Earle of Desmond. For, before his breaking forth into open rebellion, hee had conveyed secretly all his lands to feoffees of trust, in hope to have cut off her Maiestie from the escheate of his lands.

Eudox. Yea, but that was well enough avoided; for the Act of Parliament, which gave all his lands to the Queene, did (as I have heard) cut off and frustrate all such conveyances, as had at any time by the space of twelve yeares before his rebellion, beene made; within the compasse whereof, the fraudulent feoffement, and many the like of others his accomplices and fellow-traytors, were contained.

Iren. Very true, but how hardly that Act of Parliament was wrought out of them, I can witnesse; and, were it to be passed againe, I dare undertake it would never be compassed. But were it also that such Acts might be easily brought to passe against traytors and fellons, yet were it not an endlesse trouble, that no traytour or fellon should be attainted, but a Parliament must be called for bringing of his lands to the Queene, which the Common-Law giveth her.

Eudox. Then this is no fault of the Common Law, but of the persons which worke this fraud to her Majestie.

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Iren. Yes, marry; for the Common-Law hath left them this benefite, whereof they make advantage, and wrest it to their bad purposes. So as thereby they are the bolder to enter into evill actions, knowing that if the worst befall them, they shall lose nothing but themselves, whereof they seeme surely very carelesse.

Eudox. But what meant you of fugitives herein? Or how doth this concerne them?

Iren. Yes, very greatly, for you shall understand that there bee many ill disposed and undutifull persons of that realme, like as in this point there are also in this realme of England, too many, which being men of good inheritance, are for dislike of religion, or danger of the law, into which they are run, or discontent of the present government, fled beyond the seas, where they live under Princes, which are her Maiesties professed enemies, and converse and are confederat with other traitors and fugitives which are there abiding. The which neverthelesse have the benefits and profits of their lands here, by pretence of such colourable conveyances thereof, formerly made by them unto their privie friends heere in trust, who privily doe send over unto them the said revenues wherwith they are there maintained and enabled against her Majestie.

Eudox. I doe not thinke that there be any such fugitives, which are relieved by the profite of their

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lands in England, for there is a straighter order taken. And if there bee any such in Ireland, it were good it were likewise looked unto; for this evill may easily be remedied. But proceede.

Iren. It is also inconvenient in the realme of Ireland, that the wards and marriages of gentlemens children should be in the disposition of any of those Irish Lords, as now they are, by reason that their lands bee held by knights service of those Lords. By which means it comes to passe, that those gentlemen being thus in the ward of those Lords, are not onely thereby [k] brought up lewdly, and Irish-like, but also for ever after so bound to their services, they will runne with them into any disloyall action.

Eudox. This grievance Iren. is also complained of in England, but how can it be remedied? since the service must follow the tenure of the lands, and the lands were given away by the Kings of England to those Lords, when they first conquered that realme, and, to say troth, this also would be some prejudice to the Prince in her wardshipps.

Iren. I doe not meane this by the Princes wards, but by such as fall into the hands of Irish Lords;

[k] *brought up* lewdly,] *Ignorantly.* The word is repeatedly used by Spenser in this sense; as it had been by Chaucer. And thus, in our translation of the Acts of the Apostles, Ch. xvii. 5. we have "certain *lewd* fellows of the baser sort" TODD.

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for I could wish, and this I could enforce, that all those wardships were in the Princes disposition, for then it might be hoped, that she, for the universall reformation of that realme, would take better order for bringing up those wards in good nurture, and not suffer them to come into so bad hands. And although these things be already passed away, by her progenitours former grants unto those said Lords; yet I could finde a way to remedie a great part thereof, as hereafter, when fit time serves, shall appeare. And since we are entred into speech of such grants of former Princes, to sundry persons of this realme of Ireland, I will mention unto you some other, of like nature to this, and of like inconvenience, by which the former Kings of England passed unto them a great part of their prerogatives, which though then it was well intended, and perhaps well deserved of them which received the same, yet now such a gapp of mischeife lyes open thereby, that I could wish it were well stopped. Of this sort are the graunts of Counties Palatines in Ireland, which though at first were granted upon good consideration when they were first conquered, for that those lands lay then as a very border to the wild Irish, subject to continuall invasion, so as it was needfull to give them great priviledges for the defence of the inhabitants thereof: yet now that it is no more a border, nor frontired with enemies, why should such priviledges bee any continued?

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Eudox. I would gladly know what you call a County Palatine, and whence it is so called.

Iren. It was (I suppose) first named Palatine of a pale, as it were a pale and defense to their inward lands, so as it is called the English Pale, and therefore is a Palsgrave named an Earle Palatine. Others thinke of the Latine, *palare*, that is, to forrage or out-run, because those marchers and borderers use commonly so to doe. So as to have a County Palatine is, in effect, to have a priviledge to spoyle the enemies borders adjoyning. And surely so it is used at this day, as a priviledge place of spoiles and stealthes; for the County of Tipperary, which is now the onely Countie Palatine in Ireland, is, by abuse of some bad ones, made a receptacle to rob the rest of the Counties about it, by meanes of whose priviledges none will follow their stealthes, so as it being situate in the very lap of all the land, is made now a border, which how inconvenient it is, let every man judge. And though that right noble man, that is the Lord of the liberty, do paine himselfe, all he may, to yeeld equall justice unto all, yet can there not but great abuses lurke in so inward and absolute a priviledge, the consideration whereof is to be respected carefully, for the next succession. And much like unto this graunt, there are other priviledges granted unto most of the corporations there: that they shal not be bound to any other government

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then their owne, that they shall not be charged with garrisons, that they shall not be travailed forth of their owne franchises, that they may buy and sell with theeves and rebels, that all amercements and fines that shal be imposed upon them, shall come unto themselves. All which, though at the time of their first graunt they were tollerable, and perhaps reasonable, yet now are most unreasonable and inconvenient, but all these will easily be cut off with the superiour power of her Majesties prerogative, against which her own graunts are not to be pleaded or enforced.

Iren. Now truely Irenæus you have (me seemes) very well handled this point, touching inconveniences in the Common Law there, by you observed; and it seemeth that you have had a mindefull regard unto the things that may concerne the good of that realme. And if you can aswell goe thorough with the Statute Lawes of that land, I will thinke you have not lost all your time there. Therefore I pray you, now take them in hand, and tell us, what you thinke to bee amisse in them.

Iren. The Statutes of that realme are not many, and therefore we shall the sooner runne thorough them. And yet of those few there are [some] impertinent and unnecessary: the which though perhaps at the time of the making of them, were very needfull, yet now thorough change of time are cleane anti-

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quated, and altogether idle: As that which forbiddeth any to weare their beards all on the upper lippe, and none under the chinne. And that which putteth away [l] saffron shirts and smockes. And that which restraineth the use of guilt bridles and [m] petronels. And that which is appointed for the recorders and clerks of Dublin and Tredagh, to take but ijd. for the coppy of a plainte. And that which commaunds bowes and arrowes. And that which makes, that all Irishmen which shall converse among the English, shall be taken for spyes, and so punished. And that which forbids persons amesnable to law, to enter and distraine in the lands in which they have title; and many other the like, I could rehearse.

Eudox. These truely, which yee have repeated, seeme very frivolous and fruitelesse; for, by the breach of them, little dammage or inconvenience, can come to the Common-wealth: Neither indeed, if any transgresse them, shall he seeme worthy of punishment, scarce of blame, saving but for that they abide by that name of lawes. But lawes ought to be such, as that the keeping of them should be greatly for the behoofe of the Common-weale, and

[l] *saffron shirts*] He presently explains the reason of their wearing saffron shirts &c. TODD.

[m] *petronels.*] See Cotgrave's Fr. Dict. "*Petrinal*, a horsemans peece, a *petronell*." Hence the soldier, who served with a *petronell*, was called *poictrinalier*. It appears to have been much the same as our *blunderbuss*. See the Fr. *Encyclopedie*, in V. TODD.

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the violating of them should be very haynous, and sharpely punishable. But tell us of some more weighty dislikes in the Statutes then these, and that may more behoofully import the reformation of them.

Iren. There is one or two Statutes which make the wrongfull distraining of any mans goods against the forme of Common Law, to be fellony. The which Statutes seeme surely to have beene at first meant for the good of that realme, and for restrayning of a foule abuse, which then raigned commonly amongst that people, and yet is not altogether laide aside: That when any one was indebted to another, he would first demand his debt, and, if he were not payed, hee would straight goe and take a distresse of his goods or cattell, where he could finde them, to the value; which he would keepe till he were satisfied, and this the simple churle (as they call him) doth commonly use to doe; yet thorough ignorance of his misdoing, or evill use, that hath long settled amongst them. But this, though it bee sure most unlawfull, yet surely (me seemes) too hard to make it death, since there is no purpose in the party to steale the others goods, or to conceale the distresse, but doth it openly, for the most part, before witnesses. And againe, the same Statutes are so slackely penned (besides the later of them is so unsensibly contryved, that it scarce carryeth any reason in it) that they are often and very easily wrested to the fraude of the subject, as if one going to distrayne

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upon his own land or tenement, where lawfully he may, yet if in doing therof he transgresse the least point of the Common Law, hee straight committeth fellony. Or if one by any other occasion take any thing from another, as boyes use sometimes to cap one another, the same is straight fellony. This a very hard law.

Eudox. Nevertheles that evill use of distrayning of another mans goods yee will not deny but it is to be abolished and taken away.

Iren. It is so, but not by taking away the subject withall, for that is too violent a medecine, especially this use being permitted, and made lawfull to some; and to other some death. As to most of the corporate townes there, it is graunted by their charter, that they may, every man by himselfe, without an officer (for that were more tolerable) for any debt, to distraine the goods of any Irish, being found within their liberty, or but passing thorough their townes. And the first permission of this, was for that in those times when that graunt was made, the Irish were not amesnable to law, so as it was not safety for the townes-man to goe to him forth to demaund his debt, nor possible to draw him into law, so that he had leave to bee his owne bayliffe, to arrest his said debters goods, within his owne franchese. The which the Irish seeing, thought it as lawfull for them to distrayne the townes-mans goods in the

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countrey, where they found it. And so by ensample of that graunt to townes-men, they thought it lawfull, and made it a use to distrayne on anothers goods for small debts. And to say truth, mee thinkes it is hard for every trifling debt, of two or three shil. to be driven to law, which is so farre from them sometimes to be sought, for which me thinketh it too heavy an ordinance to give death, especially to a rude man that is ignorant of law, and thinketh, that a common use or graunt to other men, is a law for himselfe.

Eudox. Yea, but the iudge, when it commeth before him to triall, may easily decide this doubt, and lay open the intent of the law, by his better discretion.

Iren. Yea, but it is dangerous to leave the sence of the law unto the reason or will of the iudge, who are men and may bee miscarried by affections, and many other meanes. But the lawes ought to bee like stony tables, plaine, stedfast, and unmoveable. There is also such another Statute or two, which make Coigny and Livery to bee treason, no lesse inconvenient then the former, being as it is penned, how ever the first purpose thereof were expedient; for thereby now no man can goe into another mans house for lodging, nor to his owne tenants house to take victuall by the way, notwithstanding that there is no other meanes for him to have lodging,

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nor horse meate, nor mans meate, there being no innes, nor none otherwise to bee bought for money, but that he is endangered by that Statute for treason, whensoever he shall happen to fall out with his tennant, or that his said hoste list to complaine of greivance, as oftentimes I have seene them very malitiously doe thorough the least provocation.

Eudox. I doe not well know, but by ghesse, what you doe meane by these termes of Coigny and Livery, therefore I pray you explaine them.

Iren. I know not whether the words bee English or Irish, but I suppose them to bee rather auncient English, for the Irishmen can make no derivation of them. What Livery is, wee by common use in England know well enough, namely, that it is allowance of horse-meate, as they commonly use the word in stabling, as to keepe horses at livery, the which word, I guesse, is derived of livering or delivering forth their nightly foode. So in great houses, the livery is said to be served up for all night, that is their evenings allowanee for drinke: And Livery is also called, the upper weede which a serving man weareth, so called (as I suppose) for that it was delivered and taken from him at pleasure: so it is apparent, that, by the word Livery, is there meant horse-meate, like as, by the word Coigny, is understood mans meate; but whence the word is derived is hard to tell: some say of coine, for that they used

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commonly in their Coignies, not onely to take meate, but coine also; and that taking of money was speciallie meant to be prohibited by that Statute: but I thinke rather this word Coigny is derived of the Irish. The which is a common use amongst land-lords of the Irish, to have a common spending upon their tennants: for all their tennants, being commonly but tennants at will, they use to take of them what victuals they list; for of victuals they were wont to make small reckoning: neither in this was the tennant wronged, for it was an ordinary and knowne custome, and his Lord commonly used so to covenant with him, which if at any time the tennant disliked, hee might freely depart at his pleasure. But now by this Statute, the said Irish Lord is wronged, for that hee is cut off from his customary services, of the which this was one, besides many other of the like, as Cuddy, Coshery, Bonnaght, Shrah, Sorehin, and such others: the which (I thinke) were customes at first brought in by the English upon the Irish, for they were never wont, and yet are loath to yeeld any certaine rent, but only such spendings: for their common saying is, "Spend me and defend me."

Eudox. Surely I take it as you say, that therein the Irish Lord hath wrong, since it was an auncient custome, and nothing contrary to law, for to the willing there is no wrong done. And this right well I wot, that even heere in England, there are in many places as large customes, as that of Coignie

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and Livery. But I suppose by your speach, that it was the first meaning of the Statute, to forbid the violent taking of victualls upon other mens tenants against their wills, which surely is a great out-rage, and yet not so great (me seemes) as that it should be made treason: for considering that the nature of treason is concerning the royall estate or person of the Prince, or practizing with his enemies, to the derogation and danger of his crowne and dignitie, it is hardly wrested to make this treason. But (as you earst said) "better a mischiefe then an inconvenience."

Iren. Another Statute I remember, which having beene an auncient Irish custome, is now upon advisement made a law, and that is called the Custome of Kin-cogish, which is, that every head of every sept, and every chiefe of every kindred or family, should be answereable and bound to bring foorth every one of that sept and kindred under it, at all times to be iustified, when he should be required or charged with any treason, felony, or other haynous crime.

Eudox. Why? surely this seemes a very necessary law. For considering that many of them bee such losells and scatterlings, as that they cannot easily by any sheriffe, constable, bayliffe, or other ordinary officer bee gotten, when they are challenged for any such fact; this is a very good meanes to get them to bee brought in by him, that is, the head of that sept,

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or chiefe of that house; wherfore I wonder what just exception you can make against the same.

Iren. Truely Eudoxus, in the pretence of the good of this Statute, you have nothing erred, for it seemeth very expedient and necessary; but the hurt which commeth thereby is greater then the good. For, whilest every chiefe of a sept standeth so bound to the law for every man of his blood or sept that is under him, he is made great by the commaunding of them all. For if hee may not commaund them, then that law doth wrong, that bindeth him to bring them foorth to bee iustified. And if hee may commaund them, then hee may commaund them aswell to ill as to good. Hereby the lords and captaines of countreyes, the principall and heades of septs are made stronger, whome it should bee a most speciall care in policie to weaken, and to set up and strengthen diverse of his underlings against him, which whensoever hee shall swarve from duty, may bee able to beard him; for it is very dangerous to leave the commaund of so many as some septs are, being five or sixe thousand persons, to the will of one man, who may leade them to what he will, as he himselfe shall be inclined.

Eudox. In very deede Iren. it is very dangerous, seeing the disposition of those people is not alwayes inclineable to the best. And therefore I holde it no wisedome to leave unto them too much com-

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maund over their kindred, but rather to withdrawe their followers from them asmuch as may bee, and to gather them under the commaund of law, by some better meane then this custom of Kin-cogish. The which word I would bee glad to know what it namely signifieth, for the meaning thereof I seeme to understand reasonably well.

Iren. It is a word mingled of English and Irish together, so as I am partly ledde to thinke, that the custome thereof was first English, and afterwardes made Irish; for such an other law they had heere in England, as I remember, made by King Alured, that every gentleman should bring foorth his kinred and followers to the law. So [n] Kin is English, and Congish affinitie in Irish.

Eudox. Sith then wee that have thus reasonably handled the inconveniencies in the lawes, let us now passe unto the second part, which was, I remember, of the abuses of customes; in which, mee seemes, you have a faire champian layde open unto you, in which you may at large stretch out your discourse into many sweete remembrances of antiquities, from whence it seemeth that the customes of that nation proceeded.

[n] *Kin is English, and Congish affinitie in Irish.*] I conceive the word to be rather altogether Irish. Kin signifying in Irish, the head or chiefe of any septs. Sir James Ware.

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Iren. Indeede Eudox. you say very true; for all the customes of the Irish which I have often noted and compared with that I have read, would minister occasion of a most ample discourse of the originall of them, and the antiquity of that people, which in truth I thinke to bee more auncient then most that I know in this end of the world, [o] so as if it were in the handling of some man of sound judgement and plentifull reading, it would bee most pleasant and profitable. But it may bee wee may, at some other time of meeting, take occasion to treate thereof more at large. Heere onely it shall suffise to touch such customes of the Irish as seeme offensive and repugnant to the good government of the realme.

Eudox. Follow then your owne course, for I shall the better content my selfe to forbeare my desire now, in hope that you will, as you say, some other time more aboundantly satisfie it.

[o] *so as if it were in the handling of some man of sound judgement* &c.] Since Spenser wrote this View of Ireland, the Antiquities of the Country have been explored and elucidated, by men "of sound judgement and plentiful reading," with so much patience and precision, as to afford the curious "most pleasant and profitable" information indeed. When I mention the extremely valuable and important researches of the Royal Irish Academy; the labours of an Usher, a Ware, a Leland, a Walker, a Vallancey, a Ledwich, a Beaufort, an O'Halloran, an Ouseley, an Archdall; (to which might be added the ingenious disquisitions of many others;) I point out to the reader the true sources of elegant gratification in regard to the knowledge of Irish history, and topography, customs, and manners. Todd.

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Iren. Before we enter into the treatie of their customes, it is first needfull to consider from whence they first sprung; for from the sundry manners of the nations, from whence that people which now is called Irish, were derived, some of the customes which now remain amongst them, have been first fetcht, and sithence there continued amongst them; for not of one nation was it peopled, as it is, but of sundry people of different conditions and manners. But the chiefest which have first possessed and inhabited it, I suppose to bee [p] Scythians.

Eudox. How commeth it then to passe, that the Irish doe derive themselves from Gathelus the Spaniard?

Iren. They doe indeed, but (I conceive) without any good ground. For if there were any such notable

[p] *Scythians.*] This discourse, from the word Scythians, unto the words in p. 59. "of whom I earst spoke," is directed by Sir J. Ware wholly to be crossed out, as being then agreeable to the best MS. copy; which passage is also omitted in the Manuscript of this View belonging to the Marquis of Stafford; in which likewise is added after "to bee Scythians" the word *which*, thus connecting the words "at such time as &c." in p. 59. TODD.

Scythians.] Touching the Scythians* or Scotts arrivall in Ireland, see Nennius an ancient British author (who lived in the yeare of Christ 858.) where among other things we have the time of their arrivall. Brittonnes (saith he) venerunt in 3. ætate mundi in Britanniam, Scythæ autem in 4. obtinuerunt Hiberniam. SIR JAMES WARE.

* *A regione quadam quæ dicitur Scythia: dicitur Scita, Sciticus, Scoticus, Scotus, Scotia. Tho. Walsingham, in Hypodigmate Neustriæ, ad an.* 1185.

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transmission of a colony hether out of Spaine, or any such famous conquest of this kingdome by Gathelus a Spaniard, as they would faine believe, it is not unlikely, but the very Chronicles of Spaine (had Spaine then beene in so high regard, as they now have it) would not have omitted so memorable a thing, as the subduing of so noble a realme to the Spaniard, no more then they doe now neglect to memorize their conquest of the Indians, especially in those times, in which the same was supposed, being nearer unto the flourishing age of learning and writers under the Romanes. But the Irish doe heerein no otherwise, then our vaine English-men doe in the Tale of Brutus, whom they devise to have first conquered and inhabited this land, it being as impossible to proove, that there was ever any such Brutus of Albion or England, as it is, that there was any such Gathelus of Spaine. But surely the Scythians (of whom I earst spoke) at such time as the Northerne Nations overflowed all Christendome, came downe to the sea-coast, where inquiring for other countries abroad, and getting intelligence of this countrey of Ireland, finding shipping convenient, passed thither, and arrived in the North-part thereof, which is now called Ulster, which first inhabiting, and afterwards stretching themselves forth into the land, as their numbers increased, named it all of themselves Scuttenland, which more briefly is called Scutland, or Scotland.

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Eudox. I wonder (Irenaeus) whether you runne so farre astray; for whilest wee talke of Ireland, mee thinks you rippe up the originall of Scotland, but what is that to this?

Iren. Surely very much, for Scotland and Ireland are all one and the same.

Eudox. That seemeth more strange; for we all know right well they are distinguished with a great sea running between them; or else there are two Scotlands.

Iren. Never the more are there two Scotlands, but two kindes of Scots were indeed (as you may gather out of Buchanan) the one Irin, or Irish Scots, the other Albin-Scots; for those Scots are Scythians, arrived (as I said) in the North parts of Ireland, where some of them after passed into the next coast of Albine, now called Scotland, which (after much trouble) they possessed, and of themselves named Scotland; but in processe of time (as it is commonly seene) the dominion of the part prevaileth in the whole, for the Irish Scots putting away the name of Scots, were called only Irish, and the Albine Scots, leaving the name of Albine, were called only Scots: Therefore it commeth thence that of some writers, Ireland is called Scotia-major, and that which now is called Scotland, Scotia-minor.

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Eudox. I doe now well understand your distinguishing of the two sorts of Scots, and two Scotlands, how that this which now is called Ireland, was anciently called Erin, and afterwards of some written Scotland, and that which now is called Scotland, was formerly called Albin, before the comming of the Scythes thither; but what other nation inhabited the other parts of Ireland?

Iren. After this people thus planted in the North, (or before,) for the certaintie of times in things so farre from all knowledge cannot be justly avouched, another nation comming out of Spaine, arrived in the West part of Ireland, and finding it waste, or weakely inhabited, possessed it: who whether they were native Spaniards, or Gaules, or Africans, or Gothes, or some other of those Northerne Nations which did over-spread all Christendome, it is impossible to affirme, only some naked conjectures may be gathered, but that out of Spaine certainely they came, that do all the Irish Chronicles agree.

Eudox. You doe very boldly Iren. adventure upon the histories of auncient times, and leane too confidently on those Irish Chronicles which are most fabulous and forged, in that out of them you dare take in hand to lay open the originall of such a nation so antique, as that no monument remaines of her beginning and first inhabiting; especially having been in those times without letters, but only bare traditions of times

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and [q]remembrances of Bardes, which use to forge and falsifie every thing as they list, to please or displease any man.

Iren. Truly I must confess I doe so, but yet not so absolutely as you suppose. I do herein rely upon those Bardes or Irish Chroniclers, though the Irish themselves through their ignorance in matters of learning and deepe judgement, doe most constantly beleeve and avouch them, but unto them besides I adde mine owne reading; and out of them both together, with comparison of times, likewise of manners and customes, affinity of words and names, properties of natures, and uses, resemblances of rites and ceremonies, monuments of churches and tombes, and many other like circumstances, I doe gather a likelihood of truth, not certainely affirming any thing, but by conferring of times, language, monu-

[q] *Remembrances of Bardes,*] Of the ancient Bards or Poets, Lucan makes this mention in the first booke of his Pharsalia.

"Vos quoque qui fortes anima, belloque peremptas
"Laudibus in longum vates dimittis ævum,
"Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi."

The word signified among the Gaules a singer, as it is noted by Mr. Camden, and Mr. Selden, out of Festus Pompeius, and it had the same signification among the British. Sir Iohn Price in the description of Wales, expounds it to bee one that had knowledge of things to come, and so (saith he) it signifieth at this day, taking his ground (amisse) out of Lucan's verses. Doctor Powell, in his notes upon Caradoc of Lhancarvan, saith, that in Wales they preserved gentlemens armes and pedigrees. At this time in Ireland the Bard, by common acceptation, is counted a rayling rimer, and distinguished from the poet. Sir James Ware.

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ments, and such like, I doe hunt out a probability of things, which I leave to your judgement to believe or refuse. Neverthelesse there be some very auncient authors that make mention of these things, and some moderne, which by comparing them with present times, experience, and their owne reason, doe open a window of great light unto the rest that is yet unseene, as namely, of the elder times, Cæsar, Strabo, Tacitus, Ptolomie, Pliny, Pomponius Mela, and Berosus: of the later, Vincentius, Æneas Sylvius, Luidus, Buchanan, for that hee himselfe, being [r] an Irish Scot or Pict by nation, and being very excellently learned, and industrious to seeke out the truth of all things concerning the originall of his owne people, hath both set downe the testimony of the auncients truely, and his owne opinion together withall very reasonably, though in some things he doth somewhat flatter. Besides, the Bardes and Irish Chronielers themselves, though through desire of pleasing perhappes too much, and ignorances of arts, and purer learning, they have clauded the truth of those lines; yet there appeares among them some reliques of the true antiquitie, though disguised,

[r] *an Irish Scot or Pict by nation.*] Bede tells us that the Picts were a colony of Scythians, who first comming into Ireland, and being denyed residence there by the Scots, were perswaded by them to inhabit the North parts of Britaine. But Mr. Camden, out of Dio, Herodian, Tacitus, &c. and upon consideration of the customes, name and language of the Picts, conceives not improbably, that they were naturall Britons, although distinguished by name. Sir James Ware.

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which a well eyed man may happily discover and finde out.

Exdox. How can here be any truth in them at all, since the auncient nations which first inhabited Ireland, were altogether destitute of letters, much more of learning, by which they might leave the verity of things written. And those Bardes, comming also so many hundred yeares after, could not know what was done in former ages, nor deliver certainty of any thing, but what they fayned out of their unlearned heads.

Iren. [s] Those Bardes indeed, Cæsar writeth, delivered no certaine truth of any thing, neither is there any certaine hold to be taken of any antiquity which is received by tradition, since all men be lyars, and many lye when they wil; yet for the antiquities of the written Chronicles of Ireland, give me leave to say something, not to justifie them, but to shew that some of them might say truth. For where you

[s] *Those Bardes indeed, Cæsar writeth,*] Concerning them I finde no mention in Cæsar's Commentaryes, but much touching the Druides, which were the priests and philosophers, (or Magi as * Pliny calls them) of the Gaules and British. "Illi rebus divinis intersunt, († saith he) sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur. Ad hos magnus adolescentium numerus disciplinæ caussâ concurrit, magnoque ii sunt apud eos honore, &c." The word ᵹpuı [Sax. Dry.] had anciently the same signification (as I am informed) among the Irish. SIR JAMES WARE.

* *Hist nat lib.* 16. *cap.* 44. † *De bello Gallic. lib.* 2.

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say the Irish have alwayes bin without letters, you are therein much deceived; for it is certaine, that Ireland hath had the use of letters very anciently, and long before England.

Eudox. Is it possible? how comes it then that they are so unlearned still, being so old schollers? For learning (as the Poet saith) "Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros:" whence then (I pray you) could they have those letters?

Iren. It is hard to say: for whether they at their first comming into the land, or afterwards by trading with other nations which had letters, learned them of them, or devised them amongst themselves, is very doubtful; but that they had letters aunciently, is nothing doubtfull, for the Saxons of England are said to have their letters, and learning, and learned men from the Irish, and that also appeareth by the likenesse of the character, for the Saxons character is the same with the Irish. Now the Scythians, never, as I can reade, of old had letters amongst them, therfore it seemeth that they had them from the nation which came out of Spaine, for in Spaine there was (as Strabo writeth) letters anciently used, whether brought unto them by the Phenicians, or the Persians, which (as it appeareth by him) had some footing there, or from Marsellis, which is said to have bin inhabited by the Greekes, and from them to have had the Greeke character, of which

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Marsilians it is said, that the Gaules learned them first, and used them only for the furtherance of their trades and privat busines; for the Gaules (as is strongly to be proved by many ancient and authentical writers) did first inhabite all the sea coast of Spaine, even unto Cales, and the mouth of the Straights, and peopled also a great part of Italy, which appeareth by sundry havens and cities in Spaine called from them, as Portugallia, Gallecia, Galdunum, and also by sundry nations therin dwelling, which yet have received their own names of the Gaules, as the Rhegni, Presamarci, Tamari, Cineri, and divers others. All which Pomponius Mela, being himselfe a Spaniard, yet saith to have descended from the Celts of France, whereby it is to be gathered, that that nation which came out of Spaine into Ireland, were anciently Gaules, and that they brought with them those letters which they had anciently learned in Spaine, first into Ireland, which some also say, doe much resemble the old Phenician character, being likewise distinguished with pricke and accent, as theirs aunciently, but the further enquirie hereof needeth a place of longer discourse then this our short conference.

Eudox. Surely you have shewed a great probability of that which I had thought impossible to have bin proved; but that which you now say, that Ireland should have bin peopled with the Gaules, seemeth much more strange, for all the Chronicles

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doe say, that the west and south was possessed and inhabited of Spaniards: [t] and Cornelius Tacitus doth also strongly affirme the same, all which you must overthrow and falsifie, or else renounce your opinion.

[t] *and Cornelius Tacitus doth also strongly affirme the same,*] Cornelius Tacitus in the life of Iulius Agricola saith thus. "Silurum colorati vultus, & torti plerumque crines, & positus contra Hispaniam, Iberos veteres trajecisse, easque sedes occupâsse fidem faciunt." This he speaketh touching the Silures which inhabited that part of South-Wales, which now we call Herefordshire, Radnorshire, Brecknockshire, Monmouthshire, and Glamorganshire. And although the like reason may be given for that part of Ireland which lyeth next unto Spaine, yet in Tacitus we find no such inference. * Buchanan indeed upon the conjecture of Tacitus hath these words. "Verisimile autem non est Hispanos relictâ à tergo Hiberniâ, terra propiore, & coeli & soli mitioris, in Albium primùm descendisse, sed primùm in Hiberniam appulisse, atque inde in Britanniâ colonos missos." Which was observed unto me by the most learned bishop of Meth, Dr. Anth. Martin, upon conference with his Lordship about this point. One passage in Tacitus touching Ireland (in the same booke) I may not heere omit, although it be extra oleas. "Quinto expeditionum anno (saith he) nave primâ transgressus, ignotas ad tempus gentes, crebris simul ac prosperis prœliis domuit, eamque partem Britannia quæ Hiberniam aspicit, copiis instruxit, in spem magis quam ob formidinem. Siquidem Hibernia medio inter Britanniam aque Hispaniam, sita, & Gallico quoque mari opportuna valentissimam imperij partem magnis invicem usibus miscuerit. Spatium ejus si Britannia comparetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. Solum cœlumque & ingenia, cultusq; hominum haut multùm à Britannia differunt, meliùs aditus portusq; per commercia & negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsum seditione domesticâ unum ex regulis gentis exceperat, ac specie amicitæ in occasionem retinebat. Sæpè ex eo audivi Legione unâ & modicis auxilijs debellari, obtinerique Hiberniam posse. Idque adversùs Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma, & velut è conspectu libertas tolleretur."

SIR JAMES WARE.

* Ber. Scot. Lib. 1.

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Iren. Neither so, nor so; for the Irish Chronicles (as I shewed you) being made by unlearned men, and writing things according to the appearance of the truth which they conceived, doe erre in the circumstances, not in the matter. For all that came out of Spaine (they being no diligent searchers into the differences of the nations) supposed to be Spaniards, and so called them; but the ground-work thereof is neverthelesse true and certain, however they through ignorance disguise the same, or through vanity, whilst they would not seem to be ignorant, doe thereupon build and enlarge many forged histories of their owne antiquity, which they deliver to fooles, and make them believe for true; as for example, That first of one Gathelus the sonne of Cecrops or Argos, who having married the King of Egypt his daughter, thence sailed with her into Spaine, and there inhabited: Then that of Nemedus and his sonnes, who comming out of Scythia, peopled Ireland, and inhabited it with his sonnes 250 yeares, until he was overcome of the Giants dwelling then in Ireland, and at the last quite banished and rooted out, after whom 200 yeares, the sonnes of one Dela, being Scythians, arrived there againe, and possessed the whole land, of which the youngest called [u] Sla-

[u] *Slanius, in the end made himselfe Monarch.*] The Irish stories have a continued succession of the Kings of Ireland from this Slanius, untill the conquest by King Henry the second, but very uncertaine, especially untill the planting of religion by S. Patrick, at which time Laegarius, or Lagirius was monarch.

SIR JAMES WARE.

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nius, in the end made himselfe Monarch. Lastly, of the 4 sonnes of Milesius King of Spaine, which conquered the land from the Scythians, and inhabited it with Spaniards, and called it of the name of the youngest Hiberus, Hibernia: all which are in truth fables, and very Milesian lyes, as the later proverbe is: for never was there such a King of Spaine, called Milesius, nor any such colonie seated with his sonnes, as they faine, that can ever be proved; but yet under these tales you may in a manner see the truth lurke. For Scythians here inhabiting, they name and put Spaniards, whereby appeareth that both these nations here inhabited, but whether very Spaniards, as the Irish greatly affect, is no wayes to be proved.

Eudox. Whence commeth it then that the Irish doe so greatly covet to fetch themselves from the Spaniards, since the old Gaules are a more auncient and much more honorable nation?

Iren. Even of a very desire of new fanglenes and vanity, for they derive themselves from the Spaniards, as seeing them to be a very honorable people, and neere bordering unto them: but all that is most vaine; for from the Spaniards that now are, or that people that now inhabite Spaine, they no wayes can prove themselves to descend; neither should it be greatly glorious unto them; for the Spaniard that now is, is come from as rude and savage nations as

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they, there being, as there may be gathered by course of ages, and view of their owne history, (though they therein labour much to enoble themselves) scarce any drop of the old Spanish blood left in them; for all Spaine was first conquered by the Romans, and filled with colonies from them, which were still increased, and the native Spaniard still cut off. Afterwards the Carthaginians in all the long Punick Warres (having spoiled all Spaine, and in the end subdued it wholly unto themselves) did, as it is likely, root out all that were affected to the Romans. And lastly the Romans having againe recovered that countrey, and beate out Hannibal, did doubtlesse cut off all that favored the Carthaginians, so that betwixt them both, to and fro, there was scarce a native Spaniard left, but all inhabited of Romans. All which tempests of troubles being over-blowne, there long after arose a new storme, more dreadful then all the former, which over-ran all Spaine, and made an infinite confusion of all things; that was, the comming downe of the Gothes, the Hunnes, and the Vandals: And lastly all the nations of Scythia, which, like a mountaine flood, did over-flow all Spaine, and quite drowned and washt away whatsoever reliques there was left of the land-bred people, yea, and of all the Romans too. The which Northern Nations finding the nature of the soyle, and the vehement heat thereof farre differing from their constitutions, tooke no felicity in that countrey, but from thence passed over, and did spread themselves into all

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countryes of Christendome, of all which there is none but hath some mixture or sprinckling, if not throughly peopling of them. And yet after all these the Moores and the Barbarians, breaking over out of Africa, did finally possesse all Spaine, or the most part thereof, and did tread, under their heathenish feete, whatever little they found yet there standing. The which, though after they were beaten out by Ferdinando of Arragon and Elizabeth his wife, yet they were not so cleansed, but that through the marriages which they had made, and mixture with the people of the land, during their long continuance there, they had left no pure drop of Spanish blood, no more than of Roman or of Scythian. So that of all nations under heaven (I suppose) the Spaniard is the most mingled, and most uncertaine; wherefore most foolishly doe the Irish thinke to enoble themselves by wresting their auncientry from the Spaniard, who is unable to derive himselfe from any in certaine.

Eudox. You speake very sharpely Iren. in dispraise of the Spaniard, whom some others boast to be the onely brave nation under the skie.

Iren. So surely he is a very brave man, neither is that any thing which I speake to his derogation; for in that I said he is a mingled people, it is no dispraise, for I thinke there is no nation now in Christendome, nor much further, but is mingled, and compounded with others: for it was a singular

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providence of God, and a most admirable purpose of his wisedome, to draw those Northerne Heathen Nations downe into those Christian parts, where they might receive Christianity, and to mingle nations so remote miraculously, to make as it were one blood and kindred of all people, and each to have knowledge of him.

Eudox. Neither have you sure any more dishonoured the Irish, for you have brought them from very great and ancient nations, as any were in the world, how ever fondly they affect the Spanish. For both Scythians and Gaules were two as mighty nations as ever the world brought forth. But is there any token, denomination or monument of the Gaules yet remaining in Ireland, as there is of the Scythians?

Iren. Yea surely very many words of the Gaules remaining, and yet dayly used in common speech.

Eudox. What was the Gaulish speech, is there any part of it still used among any nation?

Iren. The Gaulish speech is the very British, the which was very generally used here in all Brittaine, before the comming of the Saxons: and yet is retained of the Welchmen, Cornishmen, and the Brittaines of France, though time working the alteration of all things, and the trading and interdeale with other nations round about, have changed

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and greatly altered the dialect thereof; but yet the originall words appeare to be the same, as who hath list to read in Camden and Buchanan, may see at large. Besides, there be many places, as havens, hills, townes, and castles, which yet beare the names from the Gaules, of the which Buchanan rehearseth above 500 in Scotland, and I can (I thinke) recount neere as many in Ireland which retaine the old denomination of the Gaules, as the Menapii, Cauci, Venti, and others; by all which and many other reasonable probabilities (which this short course will not suffer to be laid forth) it appeareth that the chiefe inhabitants in Ireland were Gaules, comming thither first out of Spaine, and after from besides Tanais, where the Gothes, the Hunnes, and the Getes sate down; they also being (as it is said of some) ancient Gaules; and lastly passing out of Gallia it selfe, from all the sea-coast of Belgia and Celtica, into al the southerne coasts of Ireland, which they possessed and inhabited, whereupon it is at this day, amongst the Irish a common use, to call any stranger inhabitant there amongst them, Gald, that is, descended from the Gaules.

Eudox. This is very likely, for even so did those Gaules anciently possesse all the southerne coasts of our Brittaine, which yet retaine their old names, as the Belgæ in Somerset-shire, Wilshire, and part of Hamshire, Attrebatii in Berkeshire, Regni in

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Sussex and Surry, and many others. Now thus farre then, I understand your opinion, that the Scythians planted in the North part of Ireland; the Spaniards (for so we call them, what ever they were that came from Spaine) in the West; the Gaules in the South: so that there now remaineth the East parts towards England, which I would be glad to understand from whence you doe think them to be peopled.

Iren. Mary I thinke of the Brittaines themselves, of which though there be little footing now remaining, by reason that the Saxons afterwards, and lastly the English, driving out the inhabitants thereof, did possesse and people it themselves. Yet amongst the Tooles, the Birns, or Brins, the Cavenaghes, and other nations in Leinster, there is some memory of the Britans remayning. As the Tooles are called of the old British word Tol, that is, a Hill Countrey, the Brins of the British word Brin, that is, Woods, and the Cavenaghes of the word Caune, that is, strong; so that in these three people the very denomination of the old Britons doe still remaine. Besides, when any flieth under the succour and protection of any against an enemie, he cryeth unto him, Comericke, that is in the Brittish Helpe, for the Brittaine is called in their owne language, Comeroy. Furthermore to prove the same, [x] Ireland is by Dio-

[x] *Ireland is by Diodorus Siculus and by Strabo, called Britannia,*] Iris is by Diodorus called a part of Brittaine: but Ireland by neither of them Britannia.

SIR JAMES WARE.

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dorus Siculus, and by Strabo, called Britannia, and a part of Great Brittaine. Finally it appeareth by good record yet extant, that [y] King Arthur, and before him Gurgunt, had all that iland under their alleagiance and subjection; hereunto I could add many probabilities of the names of places, persons, and speeches, as I did in the former, but they should be too long for this, and I reserve them for another. And thus you have had my opinion, how all that realme of Ireland was first peopled, and by what nations. After all which the Saxons succeeding, subdued it wholly to themselves. For first Egfrid, King of Northumberland, did utterly waste and subdue it, as appeareth out of Beda's complaint against him; and after him, King Edgar brought it under his obedience, as appeareth by an auncient Record, in which it is found written, that he subdued all the islands of the North, even unto Norway, and brought them into his subjection.

[y] *King Arthur, and before him Gurgunt,*] Concerning King Arthur's conquest of Ireland, see Geffry of Monmuth, and Matthew of Westminster, at the yeare 525, where he is said to have landed in Ireland with a great army, and in a battle to have taken King Gilla-Mury prisoner, and forced the other princes to subjection. In our Annals it appeares that Moriertach (the sonne of Ercæ) was at that time King of Ireland, of which name some reliques seeme to be in Gilla-Mury, Gilla being but an addition used with many names, as Gilla-Patrick, &c. But in the country writers (which I have seene) I find not the least touch of this conquest.

Sir James Ware.

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Eudox. [z] This ripping of auncestors, is very pleasing unto me, and indeede favoureth of good conceipt, and some reading withall. I see hereby how profitable travaile, and experience of forraine nations, is to him that will apply them to good purpose. Neither indeede would I have thought, that any such antiquities could have beene avouched for the Irish, that maketh me the more to long to see some other of your observations, which you have gathered out of that country, and have earst half promised to put forth: and sure in this mingling of nations appeareth (as you earst well noted) a wonderfull providence and purpose of Almighty God, that stirred up the people in the furthest parts of the world, to seeke out their regions so remote from them, and by that meanes both to restore their decayed habitations, and to make himselfe knowne to the Heathen. But was there I pray you no more generall employing of that iland, then first by the Scythians, which you say were the Scottes, and afterwards by the Spaniards, besides the Gaules, Brittaines, and Saxons?

Iren. Yes, there was another, and that last and greatest, which was by the English, when the Earle Strangbowe, having conquered that land, delivered up the same into the hands of Henry the Second, then King, who sent over thither great store of gen-

[z] *This* ripping *of auncestors,*] This *discovery* of ancestors &c. *Ripping* is metaphorically used. To-*rip,* is to break open stitched things. TODD.

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tlemen, and other warlike people, [a] amongst whom he distributed the land, and setled such a strong co-

[a] *amongst whom he distributed the land,*] King Henry the 2. gave to * Richard Strongbow Earle of Striguil or Penbroke, all Leinster, excepting the citty of Dublin, and the cantreds adjoyning with the maritime townes and castles. Unto † Robert Fitz Stephen, and Miles de Cogan he granted the kingdome of Corke, excepting the citty of Corke, and the Ostmans cantred. And unto ‡ Philip de Bruse the kingdome of Limericke. But in a confirmation of King Iohn to William de Bruse (or Braos) nephew to this Philip, wee finde that hee gave to him onely § honorem de Limerick, retentis in dominico nostro (as the words of the charter are) civitate de Limerick & donationibus episcopatuum & abbatiarum, & retentis in manu nostrâ cantredo Ostmannorum & S. insulâ. Among other large graunts (remembred by Hoveden) which this King Henry gave to the first adventurers, that of Meth to Sir Hugh de Lacy is of speciall note. The grant was in these words.

" Henricus Dei gratiâ Rex Angliæ, & Dux Normanniæ, & Aquitaniæ, & comes Andeganiæ. Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Iustitiarijs, & omnibus ministris & fidelibus suis Francis, Anglis & Hiberniensibus totius terræ suæ, Salutem. Sciatis me dedisse & concessisse, & præsenti chartâ meâ confirmâsse Hugoni de Lacy pro servitio suo, terram de Midiâ cum omnibus pertinentijs suis per servitium quinquaginta militum sibi & hæredibus suis, tenendum & habendum à me & hæredibus meis, sicut Murchardus Hu-melathlin eam tenuit, vel aliquis alius ante illum vel posteà. Et de incremento illi dono omnia feoda quæ præbuit, vel quæ præbebit circa Duveliniam, dum Balivus meus est, ad faciendum mihi servitium apud civitatem meam Duveliniæ. Quare volo & firmiter præcipio, ut ipse Hugo & hæredes sui post eum prædictam terram habeant, & teneant omnes libertates & liberas consuetudines, quas ibi habeo vel habere possum per prænominatum servitium, à me & hæredibus meis, benè, & in pace, liberè, & quietè, & honorificè, in bosco & plano, in pratis & pascuis, in aquis & molèdinis, in vivarijs & stagnis, & piscationibus

* *Gir. Camb. Hib. expugn. lib.* 1. *cap.* 28.

† *Vid. Rog. de Hoveden, pag.* 567. *edit. Franc. & Camd. Brit. p.* 379.

‡ *Rog. de Hoveden, ibid.*

§ *Chart. an.* 2. *Io. in arce Lond.*

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lonie therein, as never since could with all the subtle practices of the Irish be rooted out, but abide still

& venationibus, in vijs, & semitis, & portubus maris, & in omnibus aliis locis, & alijs rebus ad eam pertinentibus cum omnibus libertatibus, quas ibi habeo, vel illi dare possum, & hâc meâ chartâ confirmare. Test. comitè Richardo filio Gilberti, Willielmo de Braosa, &c. Apud Weisford."

But above all other graunts made by K. Henry the 2. that to his sonne Iohn is most memorable. "Deinde (saith *Hoveden) venit rex Oxenford, & in generali concilio ibidem celebrato constituit Iohannem filium suum Regem in Hibernià, concessione & confirmatione Alexandri summi Pontificis." By virtue of this graunt both in the life time of his father, and in the raigne of his brother King Richard, he was stiled in all his charters Dominus Hiberniæ, and directed them thus, "Ioannes Dominus Hiberniæ, & comes Morton. Archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, baronibus, Iustitiarijs, vice comitibus, constabularijs, & omnibus ballivis & ministris suis totius Hiberniæ, salutem." Thus we have it frequently (although sometimes with a little variation) in the Registers of St. Mary abbey, and Thomas-court by Dublin. How the Earle in Leinster, and Lacy in Meth, distributed their lands, (besides what they retained in their owne hands,) is delivered by Maurice Regan, (interpreter to Dermot Mac Murrough King of Leinster) who wrote the historie of those times in French verse, The bobke was translated into English by Sir George Carew Lo. President of Mounster, afterwards Earle of Totnes, and communicated to me, by our most reverend and excellently learned primate. There wee finde that the Earle gave to Reymond le Grose in † marriage with his sister Fotherd, Odrone, and Glasearrig; unto Hervy de Mount-marish, hee gave Obarthy; unto Maurice de Prindergrast, Fernegenall, which was afterwards conferred upon Robert fitz Godobert, but by what meanes he obtained it (saith Regan) I know not. Unto Meiler Fitz Henry he gave Carbry; unto ‡ Maurice Fitz Gerald the Naas Oselin (which had beene possessed by

* *In Hen. 2. pag. 566.*

† *Consul. Gir. Camb. Hib. expugn. lib. 2. cap. 4.*

‡ *This Maurice soone after deceasing at Wexford, King Iohn then Earle of Moreton confirmed to his sonne William Fitz Maurice cantredum terræ quem Makelanus tenuit, illum sc. in quo villa de Naas sita est, quam comes Richardus dedit Mauritio patri ipsius Willielmi. Thus the charter, habetur in ros. com. placit. an. 10. Hen. 6. in turri Birminghamiano.*

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a mighty people, of so many as remaine English of them.

Mackelan) and Wickloe; unto Walter de Ridelesford he gave the lands of Omorthy; unto Iohn de Clahul the Marshalship of Leinster, and the land betweene Aghabo and Leghlin; unto Robert de Birmingham Ofaly; and unto Adam de Hereford large possessions. What these possessions were, are thus noted in the Register of Thomascourt abbey, where speaking of the Earle, "Posteà Lagenià perquisità, erat quidam juvenis cum eo quem multùm dilexit, & dedit eidem pro servitio suo terras & tenementa subscripta, viz. tenementum de saltu Salmonis, Cloncoury, Kill, Houterard, & tenementum de Donning cum omnibus suis pertinentijs." Thus the Register. This Adam de Hereford was founder of St. Wulstan's Priory neere Leixlip in the county of Kildare. But we proceed with Regan. Unto Miles Fitz David who was one of his chiefe favourites, he gave Overk in Ossory; to Thomas de Flemming, Arde; to Gilbert de Borard, Ofelmith; to a Knight called Reinand he gave 15 knight's fees adioyning to the sea; and to one Robert (who was afterwards slaine in Connaught) the Norragh. What partition Lacy made in Meth, he thus delivers. Unto his speciall friend Hugh Tirrell he gave Castleknock: and unto William Petit Castlebreck. I have seene an ancient deede made by Sir Hugh de Lacy to this William Petit wherein among other things he graunts unto him Matherethirnan "cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, exceptis Lacu & villâ quæ dicitur Dissert, &c." Unto the valiant Meiler fitz Henry (sayth Regan) he gave Magherneran, the lands of Rathkenin, and the cantred of Athnorker. Unto Gilbert de Nangle all Magherigallen; unto Iocelin the sonne of Gilbert de Nangle, the Navan and the land of Ardbraccan; unto Richard de Tuite he gave faire possessions; unto Robert de Lacy Rathwer, unto Richard de la Chappell he gave much land; unto Geffry de Constantine Kilbisky and Rathmarthy: unto Adam de Feipo, Gilbert de Nugent, William de Misset, and Hugh de Hose, he gave large inheritances. In Lacyes graunt to Feipo, we finde that he gave him Skrine, "et præterea (sayth the *deede) feodum unius militis circa Duvelinam, scil. Clantorht & Santref. &c. In his graunt to Gilbert de Nugent, (the originall whereof I have seene, with an impression upon the seale, of a Knight armed and mounted,) he gave to him Delvin, "quam in tempore Hibernicorum tenuerunt O-Finelans, cum omnibus pertinentijs & villis, quæ infra prædictam

* *Magn. regist. mon. B. Mariæ iuxta Dublin. fol. 76.*

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Eudox. What is this that you say, of so many as remaine English of them? Why? are not they that were once English, English still?

Iren. No, for some of them are degenerated and growne almost mere Irish, yea, and more malitious to the English then the Irish themselves.

Eudox. What heare I? And is it possible that an Englishman, brought up in such sweet civility as England affords, should find such likeing in that barbarous rudenes, that he should forget his owne nature, and forgoe his owne nation! how may this bee, or what (I pray you) may be the cause thereof?

Iren. Surely, nothing but the first evill ordinance and institution of that Common-wealth. But thereof here is no fit place to speake, least by the occasion thereof, offering matter of a long discourse, we might be drawne from this, that we had in hand, namely, the handleing of abuses in the customes of Ireland.

Eudox. In truth Iren. you doe well remember the plot of your first purpose; but yet from that (me

Delvin continentur, exceptâ quadam villâ Abbatis Fourse nomine Torrochelasch pro servitio 5. militum." Thus the charter. To Misset hee gave Luin, and to Hussey or Hose Galtrim. Regan proceeds. Unto Adam Dullard hee gave the lands of Dullenvarthy, unto one Thomas he gave Cramly. Timlath began north east from Kenlis, Lathrachalim, and Sendevonath; and unto Richard le Flemming he gave Crandon at twenty Knights fees. SIR JAMES WARE.

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seemes) ye have much swarved in all this long discourse, of the first inhabiting of Ireland; for what is that to your purpose?

Iren. Truely very materiall, for if you marked the course of all that speech well, it was to shew, by what meanes the customes, that now are in Ireland, being some of them indeede very strange and almost heathenish, were first brought in: and that was, as I said, by those nations from whom that countrey was first peopled; for the difference in manners and customes, doth follow the difference of nations and people. The which I have declared to you, to have beene three especially which seated themselves here: to wit, first the Scythian, then the Gaules, and lastly the English. Notwithstanding that I am not ignorant, that there were sundry nations which got footing in that land, of the which there yet remaine divers great families and septs, of whom I will also in their proper places make mention.

Eudox. You bring your selfe Iren. very well into the way againe, notwithstanding that it seemeth that you were never out of the way, but now that you have passed thorough those antiquities, which I could have wished not so soone ended, begin when you please, to declare what customes and manners have beene derived from those nations to the Irish, and which of them you finde fault withall.

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Iren. I will begin then to count their customes in the same order that I counted their nations, and first with the Scythian or Scottish manners. Of the which there is one use, amongst them, to keepe their cattle, and to live themselves the most part of the yeare in boolies, pasturing upon the mountaine, and waste wilde places; and removing still to fresh land, as they have depastured the former. The which appeareth plaine to be the manner of the Scythians, as you may read in Olaus Magnus, and Io. Bohemus, and yet is used amongst all the Tartarians and the people about the Caspian Sea, which are naturally Scythians, to live in heards as they call them, being the very same, that the Irish boolies are, driving their cattle continually with them, and feeding onely on their milke and white meats.

Eudox. What fault can you finde with this custome? for though it be an old Scythian use, yet it is very behoofefull in this country of Ireland, where there are great mountaines, and waste deserts full of grasse, that the same should be eaten downe, and nourish many thousands of cattle, for the good of the whole realme, which cannot (me thinks) well be any other way, then by keeping those boolies there, as yee have shewed.

Iren. But by this custome of boolying, there grow in the meane time many great enormityes unto that

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Common-wealth. For first if there be any out-lawes, or loose people, (as they are never without some) which live upon stealthes and spoyles, they are evermore succoured and finde releife only in these boolies, being upon the waste places, whereas else they should be driven shortly to starve, or to come downe to the townes to seeke releife, where by one meanes or other, they would soone be caught. Besides, such stealthes of cattle as they make, they bring commonly to those boolies, being upon those waste places, where they are readily received, and the theife harboured from danger of law, or such officers as might light upon him. Moreover the people that thus live in those boolies, grow thereby the more barbarous, and live more licentiously than they could in townes, using what manners they list, and practizing what mischeifes and villainies they will, either against the government there, by their combynations, or against private men, whom they maligne, by stealing their goods, or murdering themselves. For there they thinke themselves halfe exempted from law and obedience, and having once tasted freedome, doe like a steere, that hath beene long out of his yoke, grudge and repyne ever after, to come under rule again.

Eudox. By your speech Iren. I perceive more evill come by this use of boolies, then good by their grasing; and therefore it may well be reformed: but that must be in his due course: do you proceed to the next.

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Iren. They have another custome from the Scythians, that is the wearing of Mantles, [b] and long glibbes, which is a thicke curled bush of haire, hanging downe over their eyes, and monstrously disguising them, which are both very bad and hurtfull.

Eudox. Doe you thinke that the mantle commeth from the Scythians? I would surely think otherwise, for by that which I have read, it appeareth that most nations of the world aunciently used the mantle. For the Iewes used it, as you may read of Elyas mantle, &c. The Chaldees also used it, as yee may read in Diodorus. The Egyptians likewise used it, as yee may read in Herodotus, and may be gathered by the description of Berenice, in the Greeke Commentary upon Callimachus. The Greekes also used it aunciently, as appeareth by Venus mantle lyned with starrs, though afterwards [c] they changed the form

[b] *and long* glibbes, &c.] "In Terconnell the haire of their head growes so long and curled, that they goe bare-headed, and are called *Glibs*; the women *Glibbins*." Gainsford's *Glory of England*, 4to. Lond. 1618, p. 151. TODD.

[c] *they changed the form thereof into their cloakes called Pallia,*] As the Romans had their gowne called toga, so the ancient outward vestiment of the Grecians was called Pallium, by some translated a mantle, although it be now commonly-taken for a cloake, which doth indeed somewhat resemble a mantle. By these different kinds of habit, the one was so certainly distinguished from the other, that the word *togatus* was often used to signifie a Roman, and Palliatus a Grecian, as it is observed by * Mr. Tho. Godwin out of † Sigonius. "Togati (saith he) pro Romanis

* *Romanæ histor. antholog. lib. 2. sect. 3. cap. 7.*

† *De ind. l. 3. cap. 19.*

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thereof into their cloakes, called Pallia, as some of the Irish also use. And the auncient Latines and Romans used it, as you may read in Virgil, who was a very great antiquary: That Evander, when Æneas came to him at his feast, did entertaine and feast him, sitting on the ground, and lying on mantles. Insomuch as he useth the very word mantile for a mantle.

d " ——— Humi mantilia sternunt."

So that it seemeth that the mantle was a generall habite to most nations, and not proper to the Scythians onely, as you suppose.

dicti, ut Palliati pro Græcis." But that the ancient Latines and Romans used it, as the author alledgeth, (out of I know not what place in Virgil) appeareth no way unto mee. That the gowne was their usual outward garment, is most certaine, and that commonly of wooll, finer or courser, according to the dignity of the person that wore it. Whence Horace, *Satyr.* 3. lib. 1.

——— " Sit mihi mensa tripes, et
" Concha salis puri, et toga quæ defendere frigus,
" Quamvis crassa, queat."

And from this difference betweene the ancient Roman and Grecian habit, grew the proverbs, " modò palliatus, modò togatus, and de togâ ad pallium," to denote an unconstant person. SIR JAMES WARE.

d " ——— *Humi mantilia sternunt.*"] Evanders entertainment of Æneas, is set out in the 8. booke of Virgils Æneis, but there we have no such word as mantile. In his entertainment by Dido we have it, but in another sence. *Æneid.* lib. 1.

" Iam pater Æneas, & jam Troiana iuventus
" Conveniunt, stratoque super discumbitur ostro,
" Dant famuli manibus lymphas, Cereremque canistris
" Expediunt, tonsisq; ferunt mantilia villis."

SIR JAMES WARE.

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Iren. I cannot deny but that aunciently it was common to most, and yet sithence disused and laide away. But in this later age of the world, since the decay of the Romane empire, it was renewed and brought in againe by those Northerne Nations, when breaking out of their cold caves and frozen habitations, into the sweet soyle of Europe, they brought with them their usual weedes, fit to sheild the cold, and that continual frost, to which they had at home beene inured: the which yet they left not off, by reason that they were in perpetual warres, with the nations whom they had invaded, but, still removing from place to place, carried always with them that weed, as their house, their bed, and their garment; and, comming lastly into Ireland, they found there more speciall use thereof, by reason of the raw cold climate, from whom it is now growne into that general use, in which that people now have it. After whom the Gaules succeeding, yet finding the like necessitie of that garment, continued the like use thereof.

Eudox. Since then the necessity thereof is so commodious, as you alledge, that it is insteed of housing, bedding, and cloathing, what reason have you then to wish so necessarie a thing cast off?

Iren. Because the commoditie doth not countervaile the discommoditie; for the inconveniencies which thereby doe arise, are much more many; for it is a

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fit house for an out-law, a meet bed for a rebel, and an apt cloke for a theife. First the out-law being for his many crimes and villanyes banished from the townes and houses of honest men, and wandring in waste places, far from danger of law, maketh his mantle his house, and under it covereth himselfe from the wrath of heaven, from the offence of the earth, and from the sight of men. When it raineth it is his pent-house; when it bloweth it is his tent; when it freezeth it is his tabernacle. In Sommer he can wear it loose, in winter he can wrap it close; at all times he can use it; never heavy, never cumbersome. Likewise for a rebell it is as serviceable. For in his warre that he maketh (if at least it deserve the name of warre) when he still flyeth from his foe, and lurketh in the thicke woods and straite passages, waiting for advantages, it is his bed, yea and almost his houshold stuff. For the wood is his house against all weathers, and his mantle is his couch to sleep in. Therein he wrappeth himself round, and coucheth himselfe strongly against the gnats, which in that countrey doe more annoy the naked rebels, whilst they keepe the woods, and doe more sharply wound them then all their enemies swords, or spears, which can seldome come nigh them: yea and oftentimes their mantle serveth them, when they are neere driven, being wrapped about their left arme in stead of a target, for it is hard to cut thorough with a sword, besides it is light to beare, light to throw away, and, being (as they commonly are) naked, it is

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to them all in all. Lastly for a theife it is so handsome, as it may seem it was first invented for him, for under it he may cleanly convey any fit pillage that commeth handsomly in his way, and when he goeth abroad in the night in free-booting, it is his best and surest friend; for lying, as they often do, 2 or 3 nights together abroad to watch for their booty, with that they can prettily shroud themselves under a bush or a bank side, till they may conveniently do their errand: and when all is over, he can, in his mantle passe thorough any town or company, being close hooded over his head, as he useth, from knowledge of any to whom he is indangered Besides this, he, or any man els that is disposed to mischief or villany, may under his mantle goe privily armed without suspicion of any, carry his head-peece, [a] his skean, or pistol if he please, to be alwayes in readines. Thus necessary and fitting is a mantle, for a bad man, and surely for a bad huswife it is no lesse convenient, for some of them that bee wandring woe men, called of them Mona-shul, it is halfe a wardrobe; for in Summer you shal find her arrayed commonly but in her smock and mantle to be more ready for her light services: in Winter, and in her travaile, it is her cloake and safeguard, and also a coverlet for her lewde exercise. And when she hath filled her vessell, under it she can hide both her burden, and her blame; yea, and when her bastard

[a] *his* skean,] "*Sword*; skian, or skeine." See Walker's Memoir &c. (mentioned in the note on *arms and weapons* below,) p. 115. TODD.

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is borne, it serves insteed of swadling clouts. And as for all other good women which love to doe but little worke, how handsome it is to lye in and sleepe, or to louse themselves in the sun-shine, they that have beene but a while in Ireland can well witnes. Sure I am that you will thinke it very unfit for a good huswife to stirre in, or to busie her selfe about her huswifry in such sort as she should. These be some of the abuses for which I would thinke it meet to forbid all mantles.

Eudox. O evill minded man, that having reckoned up so many uses of a mantle, will yet wish it to be abandoned! Sure I thinke Diogenes dish did never serve his master for more turnes, notwithstanding that he made it his dish, his cup, his cap, his measure, his water-pot, then a mantle doth an Irish man. But I see they be most to bad intents, and therefore I will joyne with you in abolishing it. But what blame lay you to the glibbe? take heed (I pray you) that you be not too busie therewith for feare of your owne blame, seeing our Englishmen take it up in such a generall fashion to weare their haire so immeasurably long, that some of them exceed the longest Irish glibs.

Iren. I feare not the blame of any undeserved dislikes: but for the Irish glibbes, they are as fit maskes as a mantle is for a thiefe. For whensoever he hath run himselfe into that perill of law, that he

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will not be knowne, he either cutteth of his glibbe quite, by which he becommeth nothing like himselfe, or pulleth it so low downe over his eyes, that it is very hard to discerne his theevish countenance. And therefore fit to be trussed up with the mantle.

Eudox. Truly these three Scythian abuses, I hold most fit to bee taken away with sharpe penalties, and sure I wonder how they have beene kept thus long, notwithstanding so many good provisions and orders, as have beene devised for that people.

Iren. The cause thereof shall appeare to you hereafter: but let us now go forward with our Scythian customes. Of which the next that I have to treat of, is the manner of raising the cry in their conflicts, and at other troublesome times of uproare: the which is very natural Scythian, as you may read in Diodorus Siculus, and in Herodotus, describing the maner of the Scythians and Parthians comming to give the charge at battles: at which it is said, that they came running with a terrible yell as if heaven and earth would have gone together, which is the very image of the Irish hubub, [f] which their kerne use at their

[f] *which their* kerne *use* &c.] The *kern* is the Irish *foot-soldier;* and is also employed in this sense by Shakspeare. See likewise Gainsford's *Glory of England,* 4to. 1618, p. 149. "The name of *Galliglas* is in a manner extinct, but of KERN in great reputation, as serving them [the Irish] in their revolts; and proving sufficient souldiers; but excellent for skirmish." Again, p. 150. "They [the Irish] are desperate in revenge; and their *kerne* thinke no man dead, vntill his head be off." TODD.

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first encounter. Besides, the same Herodotus writeth, that they used in their battles to call upon the names of their captains or generals, and somtimes upon their greatest kings deceased, [g] as in that battle of Thomyris against Cyrus: which custome to this day manifestly appeareth amongst the Irish. For at their joyning of battle, they lykewise call upon their captaines name, or the word of his auncestours. As they under Oneale cry Lanndarg-abo, that is, the bloody hand, which is Onealeſ badge. They under O Brien call Laun-laider, that is, the strong hand. And to their ensample, the old English also which there remayneth, have gotten up their cryes Scythian-like, as Crom-abo, and Butler-abo. And here also lyeth open an other manifest proofe, that the Irish bee Scythes or Scots, for in all their incounters they use one very common word, crying Ferragh, Ferragh, which is a Scottish word, to wit, the name of one of the first Kings of Scotland, called Feragus, or Fergus, which fought against the Pictes, as you may reade in Buchanan, de rebus Scoticis; but as others write, it was long before that, the name of their chiefe Captaine, under whom they fought against the Africans, the which was then so fortunate unto them, that ever sithence they have used to call upon his name in their battailes.

[g] *as in that battle of Thomyris against Cyrus:*] Herodotus in the description of that battle hath no such thing.

SIR JAMES WARE.

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Eudox. Believe me, this observations of yours, Irenæus, is very good and delightfull; far beyond the blinde conceipt of some, who (I remember) have upon the same word Ferragh, made a very blunt conjecture, as namely Mr. Stanihurst, who though he be the same countrey man borne, that should search more neerly into the secret of these things; yet hath strayed from the truth all the heavens wyde, (as they say,) for he thereupon groundeth a very grosse imagination, that the Irish should descend from the Egyptians which came into that Island, first under the leading of one Scota the daughter of Pharaoh, whereupon they use (saith he) in all their battailes [h] to call upon the name of Pharaoh, crying Ferragh, Ferragh. Surely he shootes wyde on the bow hand, and very far from the marke. For I would first know of him what auncient ground of authority he hath for such a senselesse fable, and if he have any of the rude Irish bookes, as it may be hee hath, yet (me seemes) that a man of his learning should not so lightly have bin carried away with old wives tales, from approvance of his owne reason; for whether it be a smack of any learned iudgment, to say, that Scota is like an Egyptian word, let the learned iudge.

[h] *to call upon the name of* Pharaoh, *crying* Ferragh.] The vulgar Irish suppose the subject of this war-song to have been *Forroch* or *Ferragh,* (an easy corruption of *Pharroh,* which Selden, in his notes on Drayton's Polyolbion, says was the name of the war-song once in use amongst the Irish kerns,) a terrible giant, of whom they tell many a marvellous tale. See Mr. Walker's *Hist. Mem. of the Irish Bards,* notes, p. 96; and Mr. Warton's note on *Sir Ferraugh,* F. Q. iv. ii. 4. TODD.

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But his Scota rather comes of the Greek σκότος, that is, darknes, which hath not let him see the light of the truth.

Iren. You know not Eudoxus, how well M. Stan. could see in the darke: perhaps he hath owles or cats eyes: but well I wot he seeth not well the very light in matters of more weight. But as for Ferragh I have told my coniecture only, and yet thus much I have more to prove a likelyhood, that there be yet at this day in Ireland, many Irish men (chiefly in the Northerne parts) called by the name of Ferragh. But let that now be: this only for this place suffiseth, that it is a word used in their common hububs, the which (with all the rest) is to be abolished, for that it discovereth an affectation to Irish captainry, which in this platform I indevour specially to beat down. There be other sorts of cryes also used among the Irish, which savour greatly of the Scythian barbarisme, as their lamentations at their buryals, with dispairfull out-cryes, and immoderate waylings, the which M. Stanihurst might also have used for an argument to proove them Egyptians. For so in Scripture it is mentioned, that the Egyptians lamented for the death of Ioseph. Others thinke this custome to come from the Spaniards, for that they doe immeasurably likewise bewayle their dead. But the same is not proper Spanish, but altogether heathenish, brought in thither first either by the Scythians, or the Moores that were Africans, and long possessed

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that countrey. For it is the manner of all Pagans and Infidels to be intemperate in their waylings of their dead, for that they had no faith nor hope of salvation. And this ill custome also is specially noted by Diodorus Siculus, to have beene in the Scythians, and is yet amongst the Northerne Scots at this day, as you may reade in their chronicles.

Eudox. This is sure an ill custome also, but yet doth not so much concerne civill reformation, as abuse in religion.

Iren. I did not reheerse it as one of the abuses which I thought most worthie of reformation; but having made mention of Irish cryes I thought this manner of lewd crying and howling, not impertinent to be noted as uncivill and Scythian-like: for by these old customes, and other like coniecturall circumstances, the descents of nations can only be proved, where other monuments of writings are not remayning.

Eudox. Then (I pray you) whensoever in your discourse you meet with them by the way, doe not shun, but boldly touch them: for besides their great pleasure and delight for their antiquity, they bring also great profit and helpe unto civility.

Iren. Then sith you will have it so, I will heere take occasion, since I lately spake of their manner of

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cryes in ioyning of battaile, to speake also somewhat of the manner of their armes, and array in battell, with other customes perhappes worthy the noting. [i] And first of their armes and weapons, amongst which their broad swordes are proper Scythian, for such the Scythes used commonly, as you may read in Olaus Magnus. And the same also the old Scots used, as you may read in Buchanan, and in Solinus, where the pictures of them are in the same forme expressed. Also their short bowes, and little quivers with short bearded arrowes, are very [k] Scythian, as you may reade in the same Olaus. And the same sort both of bowes, quivers, and arrowes, are at this day to bee seene commonly amongst the Northerne Irish-Scots, whose Scottish bowes are not past three quarters of a yard long, with a string of wreathed hempe slackely bent, and whose arrowes are not much above halfe an ell long, tipped with steele heads, made like common broad arrow heades, but much more sharpe and slender, that they enter into a man or horse most cruelly, notwithstanding that they are shot forth weakely. Moreover their long broad

[i] *And first of their armes and weapons,*] This subject is illustrated, with great care, in the following work: "An Historical Essay on the Dress of the ancient and modern Irish; to which is subjoined a Memoir on the Armour and Weapons of the Irish. By Joseph Corper Walker, Esq. M.R.I.A." Dublin, 1788. TODD.

[k] *Scythian,*] The originall of the very name Scythians seemeth to come from shooting. Vide Selden, Annot. in Poly-olb. (ex Gorop. Becan. Beccesel. et Aluredi leg.) p. 133.

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shields, made but with wicker roddes, which are commonly used amongst the said Northerne Irish, but especially of the Scots, are brought from the Scythians, as you may read in Olaus Magnus, Solinus, and others: likewise their going to battle without armor on their bodies or heads, but trusting to the thicknes of their glibbs, the which (they say) will sometimes beare off a good stroke, is meere Scythian, as you may see in the said images of the old Scythes or Scots, set foorth by Herodianus and others. Besides, their confused kinde of march in heapes, without any order or array, their clashing of swords together, their fierce running upon their enemies, and their manner of fight, resembleth altogether that which is read in histories to have beene used of the Scythians. By which it may almost infallibly be gathered together, with other circumstances, that the Irish are very Scots or Scythes originally, though sithence intermingled with many other nations repairing and joyning unto them. And to these I may also adde another strong conjecture which commeth to my mind, that I have often observed there amongst them, that is, certain religious ceremonies, which are very superstitiously yet used amongst them, the which are also written by sundry authours, to have bin observed amongst the Scythians, by which it may very vehemently be presumed that the nations were anciently all one. For [1] Plutarch (as I remember) in his Treatise

[1] *Plutarch*] Not he, but Herodotus, in the Life of Homer.

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of Homer, indeavouring to search out the truth, what countryman Homer was, prooveth it most strongly (as he thinketh) that he was an Æolian borne, for that in describing a sacrifice of the Greekes, he omitted the loyne, the which all the other Grecians (saving the Æolians) use to burne in their sacrifices: also for that he makes the intralls to be rosted on five spits, which was the proper manner of the Æolians, who onely, of all the nations of Grecia, used to sacrifize in that sort. By which he inferreth necessarily, that Homer was an Æolian. And by the same reason may I as reasonably conclude, that the Irish are descended from the Scythians; for that they use (even to this day) some of the same ceremonies which the Scythians anciently used. As for example, you may reade in Lucian in that sweet dialogue, which is intitled Toxaris, or of friendship, that the common oath of the Scythians was [m] by the sword, and by the fire, for that they accounted those two speciall divine powers, which should worke vengeance on the perjurers. So doe the Irish at this day, when they goe to battaile, say certaine prayers or charmes to their swords, making a crosse therewith upon the earth, and thrusting the

[m] *By the sword, and by the fire,*] Lucian hath it, *by the sword, and by the wind.* Somewhat may be gathered to this purpose out of the * Ulster Annals, where Lægarius (or Lagerius) a heathen King of Ireland, being taken prisoner by the Leinster men, is said to have bin released upon an oath, which was per solem & ventum. Sir James Ware.

* *An.* 458.

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points of their blades into the ground; thinking thereby to have the better successe in fight. Also they use commonly to sweare by their swords. Also the Scythians used, when they would binde any solemne vow or combination amongst them, [n] to drink a bowle of blood together, vowing thereby to spend their last blood in that quarrell: and even so do the wild Scots, as you may read in Buchanan: and some of the Northerne Irish. Likewise at the kindling of the fire, and lighting of candles, they say certaine prayers, and use some other superstitious rites, which shew that they honour the fire and the light: for all those Northerne nations, having beene used to be annoyed with much colde and darkenesse, are wont therefore to have the fire and the sunne in great veneration; like as contrarywise the Moores and Egyptians, which are much offended and grieved with extreame heat of the sunne, doe every morning, when the sunne ariseth, fall to cursing and banning of him as their plague. You may also reade in the same booke, in the Tale of Arsacomas, that it was the manner of the Scythians, when any one of them was heavily wronged, and would assemble unto him any forces of people to joyne with him in his revenge, to sit in some publicke place for certaine dayes upon an oxe hide, to which there would resort all such persons as being disposed to take armes would enter into his pay,

[n] *to drink a bowl of blood together,* &c.] See Mela, lib. 11, cap. 1. Other nations also observed this custom. See Herodotus, l. 1. c. 74. TODD.

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or joyne with him in his quarrel. And the same you may likewise reade to have beene the ancient manner of the wilde Scotts, which are indeed the very naturall Irish. Moreover the Scythians used to sweare by their Kings hand, as Olaus sheweth. And so do the Irish use now to sweare by their Lords hand, and, to forsweare it, holde it more criminall than to sweare by God. Also the Scythians said, That they were once a yeare turned into wolves, and so it is written of the Irish: Though Master Camden in a better sense doth suppose it was [o] a disease, called Lycanthropia, so named of the wolfe. And yet some of the Irish doe use to make the wolfe their gossip. The Scythians used also to seethe the flesh in the hide: and so doe the Northerne Irish. The Scythians used to draw the blood of the beast living, and to make meat thereof: and so do the Irish in the North still. Many such customes I could recount unto you, as of their old manner of marrying, of

[o] *a disease called Lycanthropia,*] "Amongst these humours of Melancholy, the phisitions place a kinde of madnes, by the Greeks called *Lycanthropia*, termed by the Latines *Insania Lupina*, or *Wolves furie*: which bringeth a man to this point, (as Attomare affirmeth) that in Februarie he will goe out of the house in the night like a wolfe, hunting about the graves of the dead with great howling; and plucke the dead mens bones out of the sepulchres, carrying them about the streets, to the greate feare and astonishment of all them that meete him: And the foresaide author affirmeth, that melancholike persons of this kinde have pale faces, soaked and hollow eies, with a weak sight, never shedding one tear to the view of the world, &c." *The Hospitall of Incurable Fooles*, (a translation from the Italian,) 4to. 1600, p. 19. TODD.

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burying, of dancing, of singing, of feasting, of cursing, though Christians have wyped out the most part of them, by resemblance, whereof it might plainly appeare to you, that the nations are the same, but that by the reckoning of these few, which I have told unto you, I finde my speech drawne out to a greater length then I purposed. Thus much onely for this time I hope shall suffise you, to thinke that the Irish are anciently deduced from the Scythians.

Eudox. Surely Iren. I have heard, in these few words, that from you which I would have thought had bin impossible to have bin spoken of times so remote, and customes so ancient: with delight whereof I was all that while as it were intranced, and carried so farre from my selfe, as that I am now right sorry that you ended so soone. But I marvaile much how it commeth to passe, that in so long a continuance of time, and so many ages come betweene, yet any jot of those olde rites and superstitious customes should remaine amongst them.

Iren. It is no cause of wonder at all; for it is the maner of many nations to be very superstitious, and diligent observers of old customes and antiquities, which they receive by continuall tradition from their parents, by recording of their Bards and Chronicles, in their songs, and by daylie use and ensample of their elders.

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Eudox. But have you (I pray you) observed any such customes amongst them, brought likewise from the Spaniards or Gaules, as these from the Scythians? that may sure be very materiall to your first purpose.

Iren. Some perhaps I have; and who that will by this occasion more diligently marke and compare their customes, shall finde many more. But there are fewer remayning of the Gaules or Spaniards, then of the Scythians, by reason that the partes, which they then possessed, lying upon the coast of the Westerne and Southerne Sea, were sithence visited with strangers and forraine people, repayring thither for trafficke, and for fishing, which is very plentifull upon those coasts: for the trade and interdeale of sea-coast nations one with another, worketh more civilitie and good fashions, (all sea men being naturally desirous of new fashions,) then amongst the inland folke, which are seldome seene of forrainers; yet some of such as I have noted, I will recount unto you. And first I will, for the better credit of the rest, shew you one out of their Statutes, among which it is enacted, that no man shall weare his beard onely on the upper lip, shaving all his chinne. And this was the auncient manner of the Spaniards, as yet it is of all the Mahometans to cut off all their beards close, save onelie their Muschachios, which they weare long. And the cause of this use, was for that they, being bred in a hot countrey, found much

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haire on their faces and other parts to be noyous unto them: for which cause they did cut it most away, like as contrarily all other nations, brought up in cold countreys, do use to nourish their haire, to keepe them the warmer, which was the cause that the Scythians and Scottes wore Glibbes (as I shewed you) to keepe their heads warme, and long beards to defend their faces from cold. From them also (I thinke) came saffron shirts and smocks, which was devised by them in those hot countryes, where saffron is very common and rife, for avoyding that evill which commeth by much sweating, and long wearing of linnen: also the woemen amongst the old Spaniards had the charge of all houshold affaires, both at home and abroad, (as Boemus writeth,) though now the Spaniards use it quite otherwise. And so have the Irish woemen the trust and care of all things, both at home, and in the field. Likewise round leather targets is the Spanish fashion, who used it (for the most part) painted, which in Ireland they use also, in many places, coloured after their rude fashion. Moreover the manner of their woemens riding on the wrong side of the horse, I meane with their faces towards the right side, as the Irish use, is (as they say) old Spanish, and some say African, for amongst them the woemen (they say) use so to ride: Also the deepe smocke sleive, which the Irish woemen use, they say, was old Spanish, and is used yet in Barbary: and yet that should seeme rather to be an old English fashion; for in armory the fashion of

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the Manche, which is given in armes by many, being indeede nothing else but a sleive, is fashioned much like to that sleive. And that Knights in auncient times [p] used to weare their mistresses or loves sleive, upon their armes, as appeareth by that which is written of Sir Launcelot, that he wore the sleive of the faire Maide of Asteloth, in a tourney, whereat Queene Gueneuer was much displeased.

Eudox. Your conceipt is good, and well fitting for things so far growne from certainty of knowlege and learning, onely upon likelyhoods and conjectures. But have you any customes remaining from the Gaules or Brittaines?

Iren. I have observed a few of either; and who will better search into them, may finde more. And first the profession of their Bardes was (as Cæsar writeth) usuall amongst the Gaules, and the same was also common amongst the Brittans, and is not yet altogether left off with the Welsh which are their posterity. For all the fashions of the Gaules and Brittaines, as he testifieth, were much like. The long darts came also from the Gaules, as you may read in the same Cæsar, and in Io. Boemus. Likewise the said Io. Boemus writeth, that the Gaules used swords a handfull broad, and so doe the Irish now. Also they used long wicker shields in battaile

[p] *used to weare their mistresses or loves sleive, upon their armes,*] See the note on this custom in Colin Clouts come home again. TODD.

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that should cover their whole bodies, and so doe the Northerne Irish. But I have not seene such fashioned targets used in the Southerne parts, but onely amongst the Northerne people, and Irish-Scottes, I doe thinke that they were brought in rather by the Scythians, then by the Gaules. Also the Gaules used to drinke their enemyes blood, and painte themselves therewith. So also they write, that the old Irish were wont, and so have I seene some of the Irish doe, but not their enemyes but freinds blood. As namely at the execution of a notable traytor at Limericke, called Murrogh O-Brien, I saw an old woman, which was his foster mother, take up his head, whilst he was quartered, and sucked up all the blood that runne thereout, saying, that the earth was not worthy to drinke it, and therewith also steeped her face and breast, and tore her haire, crying out and shrieking most terribly.

Eudox. You have very well runne through such customes as the Irish have derived from the first old nations which inhabited the land; namely, the Scythians, the Spaniards, the Gaules, and the Brittaines. It now remaineth that you take in hand the customes of the old English which are amongst the Irish: of which I doe not thinke that you shall have much cause to finde fault with, considering that, by the English, most of the old bad Irish customes were abolished, and more civill fashions brought in their stead.

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Iren. You think otherwise, Eudox. then I doe, for the cheifest abuses which are now in that realme, are growne from the English, and some of them are now much more lawlesse and licentious then the very wilde Irish: so that as much care as was by them had to reforme the Irish, so and much more must now bee used to reforme them; so much time doth alter the manners of men.

Eudox. That seemeth very strange which you say, that men should so much degenerate from their first natures, as to grow wilde.

Iren. So much can liberty and ill examples doe.

Eudox. What liberty had the English there, more then they had here at home? Were not the lawes planted amongst them at the first, and had they not governours to curbe and keepe them still in awe and obedience?

Iren. They had, but it was, for the most part, such as did more hurt then good; for they had governours for the most part of themselves, and commonly out of the two families of the Geraldines and Butlers, both adversaries and corrivales one against the other. Who though for the most part they were but deputies under some of the Kings of Englands sonnes, brethren, or other neare kinsmen, who were the Kings lieutenants, yet they swayed

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so much, as they had all the rule, and the others but the title. Of which Butlers and Geraldynes, albeit (I must confesse) there were very brave and worthy men, as also of other the Peeres of that realme, made Lo: Deputies, and Lo: Iustices at sundry times, yet thorough greatnes of their late conquests and seignories they grew insolent, and bent both that regall authority, and also their private powers, one against another, to the utter subversion of themselves, and strengthning of the Irish againe. This you may read plainely discovered by a letter written from the citizens of Cork out of Ireland, to the Earle of Shrewsbury then in England, and remaining yet upon record, both in the Towre of London, and also among the Chronicles of Ireland. Wherein it is by them complained, that the English Lords and Gentlemen, who then had great possessions in Ireland, began, through pride and insolency, to make private warres one against another, and, when either part was weak, they would wage and draw in the Irish to take their part, by which meanes they both greatly encouraged and inabled the Irish, which till that time had beene shut up within the Mountaines of Slewlogher, and weakened and disabled themselves, insomuch that their revenues were wonderfully impaired, and some of them which are there reckoned to have been able to have spent 12 or 1300 pounds per annum, of old rent, (that I may say no more) besides their commodities of creekes and havens, were now scarce able to dispend the third part. From which

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disorder, and through other huge calamities which have come upon them thereby, they are almost now growne like the Irish; I meane of such English, as were planted above towards the West; for the English Pale hath preserved it selfe, thorough nearenes of the state in reasonable civilitie, but the rest which dwelt in Connaght and in Mounster, which is the sweetest soyle of Ireland, and some in Leinster and Ulster, are degenerate, yea, and some of them have quite shaken off their English names, and put on Irish that they might bee altogether Irish.

Eudox. Is it possible that any should so farre growe out of frame that they should in so short space, quite forget their countrey and their owne names! that is a most dangerous lethargie, much worse than that of Messala Corvinus, who, being a most learned man, thorough sickenesse forgat his owne name. But can you count us any of this kinde?

Iren. I cannot but by report of the Irish themselves, who report, that the [q] Mac-mahons in the North, were aunciently English, to wit, descended from the Fitz Ursulas, which was a noble family in England, and that the same appeareth by the signification of their Irish names: Likewise that the Mac-swynes, now in Ulster, were aunciently of the Veres

[q] *Mac-mahons,* &c.] These families of Mac-mahones and Mac-swines are by others held to be of the ancient Irish.

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in England, but that they themselves, for hatred of English, so disguised their names.

Eudox. Could they ever conceive any such dislike of their owne natural countryes, as that they would bee ashamed of their name, and byte at the dugge from which they sucked life?

Iren. I wote well there should be none; but proud hearts doe oftentimes (like wanton colts) kicke at their mothers, as we read Alcibiades and Themistocles did, who, being banished out of Athens, fled unto the Kings of Asia, and there stirred them up to warre against their country, in which warres they themselves were cheiftaines. So they say did these Mac-swines and Mac-mahons, or rather Veres and Fitz-Ursulaes, for private despight, turne themselves against England. For at such time as Robert Vere, Earl of Oxford, was in the Barons warres against King Richard the Second, through the mallice of the Peeres, banished the realme and proscribed, he with his kinsman Fitz-Ursula fled into Ireland, where being prosecuted, and afterwards in England put to death, his kinsman there remaining behinde in Ireland rebelled, and, conspiring with the Irish, did quite cast off both their English name and alleagiance, since which time they have so remained still, and have sinçe beene counted meere Irish. The very like is also reported of the Mac-swines, Mac-mahones, and Mac-shehies of Mounster, how they likewise

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were aunciently English, and old followers to the Earle of Desmond, untill the raigne of King Edward the Fourth: at which time the Earle of Desmond that then was, called Thomas, being through false subornation (as they say) of the Queene for some offence by her against him conceived, brought to his death at [s]Tredagh most unjustly, notwithstanding that he was a very good and sound subject to the King: Thereupon all his kinsemen of the Geraldines, which then was a mighty family in Mounster, in revenge of that huge wrong, rose into armes against the King, and utterly renounced and forsooke all obedience to the Crowne of England, to whom the said Mac-swines, Mac-shehies, and Mac-mahones, being then servants and followers, did the like, and have ever sithence so continued. And with them (they say) all the people of Mounster went out, and many other of them, which were meere English, thenceforth joyned with the Irish against the King, and termed themselves very Irish, taking on them Irish habits and customes, which could never since be cleane wyped away, but the contagion hath remained still amongst their posteritye. Of which sort (they say) be most of the surnames which end in an, as Hernan, Shinan, Mungan, &c. the which now account them-

[s] *Tredagh*] Others hould that he was beheaded at Tredagh, 15. Febr 1467, by (the command of) Iohn Tiptoft Earle of Worcester, then Lo: Deputy of Ireland, for exacting of Coyne and Livery. Vid. Camden. Britan. pag. 738. edit. Londin. an. 1607.

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selves naturall Irish. Other great houses there bee of the English in Ireland, which thorough licentious conversing with the Irish, or marrying, or fostering with them, or lacke of meete nurture, or other such unhappy occasions, have [t] degendred from their auncient dignities, and are now growne as Irish, as O-hanlans breech, [u] as the proverbe there is.

Eudox. In truth this which you tell is a most shamefull hearing, and to be reformed with most sharpe censures, in so great personages to the terrour of the meaner: for if the lords and cheife men degenerate, what shall be hoped of the peasants, and baser people? And hereby sure you have made a faire way unto your selfe to lay open the abuses of their evill customes, which you have now next to declare, the which, no doubt, but are very bad, being borrowed from the Irish, as their apparell, their language, their riding, and many other the like.

Iren. You cannot but hold them sure to be very uncivill; for were they at the best that they were of

[t] *degendred*] This is the manuscript reading, and confirms the use of the word by Spenser on another occasion. See vol. vi. p. 2. The printed copies read *degenerated*. TODD.

[u] *as the proverbe there is.*] The Manuscripts belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Marquis of Stafford add three "most pittiful examples of this sort," then existing; and the mention of them is made in very severe terms. They are "the Lord Bremingham, the great Mortimer, and the old Lord Courcie." TODD.

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old, when they were brought in, they should in so long an alteration of time seeme very uncouth and strange. For it is to be thought, that the use of all England was in the raigne of Henry the Second, when Ireland was planted with English, very rude and barbarous, so as if the same should be now used in England by any, it would seeme worthy of sharpe correction, and of new lawes for reformation, for it is but even the other day since England grew civill: Therefore in counting the evill customes of the English there, I will not have regard, whether the beginning thereof were English or Irish, but will have respect onely to the inconvenience thereof. And first I have to finde fault with the abuse of language, that is, for the speaking of Irish among the English, which as it is unnaturall that any people should love anothers language more then their owne, so it is very inconvenient, and the cause of many other evills.

Eudox. It seemeth strange to me that the English should take more delight to speake that language, then their owne, whereas they should (mee thinkes) rather take scorne to acquaint their tongues thereto. For it hath ever beene the use of the conquerour, to despise the language of the conquered, and to force him by all meanes to learne his. So did the Romans alwayes use, insomuch that there is almost no nation in the world, but is sprinckled with their language. It were good therefore (me seemes) to search out the originall cause of this evill; for, the same being

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discovered, a redresse thereof will the more easily be provided: For I thinke it very strange, that the English being so many, and the Irish so few, as they then were left, the fewer should draw the more unto their use.

Iren. I suppose that the chiefe cause of bringing in the Irish language, amongst them, was specially their fostering, and marrying with the Irish, the which are two most dangerous infections; for first the childe that sucketh the milke of the nurse, must of necessity learne his first speach of her, the which being the first inured to his tongue, is ever after most pleasing unto him, insomuch as though hee afterwards be taught English, yet the smacke of the first will allwayes abide with him; and not onely of the speach, but also of the manners and conditions. For besides that young children be like apes, which will affect and imitate what they see done before them, especially by their nurses, whom they love so well, they moreover drawe into themselves, together with their sucke, even the nature and disposition of their nurses: for the minde followeth much the temperature of the body: and also the words are the image of the minde, so as they proceeding from the minde, the minde must needes be affected with the words. So that the speach being Irish, the heart must needes bee Irish: for out of the abundance of the heart, the tongue speaketh. The next is the marrying with the Irish, which how dangerous a thing it is in all common-

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wealthes, appeareth to every simplest sence, and though some great ones have perhaps used such matches with their vassals, and have of them nevertheless raised worthy issue, as Telamon did with Teemessa, Alexander the Great with Roxana, and Iulius Cæsar with Cleopatra, yet the example is so perillous, as it is not to be adventured: for in stead of those few good, I could count unto them infinite many evill. And indeed how can such matching succeede well, seeing that commonly the childe taketh most of his nature of the mother, besides speach, manners, and inclynation, which are (for the most part) agreeable to the conditions of their mothers: for by them they are first framed and fashioned, so as what they receive once from them, they will hardly ever after forgoe. Therefore are these evill customes of fostering and marrying with the Irish, most carefully to be restrayned: for of them two, the third evill that is the custome of language, (which I spake of,) chiefly proceedeth.

Eudox. But are there not lawes already provided, for avoyding of this evill?

Iren. Yes, I thinke there be, but as good never a whit as never the better. For what doe statutes availe without penalties, or lawes without charge of execution? for so there is another like law enacted against wearing of the Irish apparell, but neverthemore is it observed by any, or executed by them that have

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the charge: for they in their private discretions thinke it not fit to bee forced upon the poore wretches of that country, which are not worth the price of English apparell, nor expedient to be practised against the abler sort, by reason that the country (say they) doth yeeld no better, and were there better to be had, yet these were fitter to be used, as namely, the mantle in travalling, because there be no Innes where meete bedding may be had, so that his mantle serves him then for a bed; the leather quilted iacke in iourneying and in camping, for that is fittest to be under his shirt of mayle, and for any occasion of suddaine service, as there happen may, to cover his trouse on horsebacke; the great linnen roll, which the women weare, to keepe their heads warme, after cutting their haire, which they use in sicknesse; besides their thicke folded linnen shirts, their long-sleived smocks, their halfe-sleived coates, their silken fillets, and all the rest; they will devise some colour for, either of necessity, or of antiquity, or of comelynesse.

Eudox. But what colour soever they alledge, mee thinkes it is not expedient, that the execution of a law once ordayned should be left to the discretion of the iudge, or officer, but that, without partialitie or regard, it should be fulfilled as well on English, as Irish.

Iren. But they thinke this precisenes in reformation of apparell not to be so materiall, or greatly pertinent.

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Eudox. Yes surely but it is: for mens apparell is commonly made according to their conditions, and their conditions are oftentimes governed by their garments: for the person that is gowned, is by his gowne put in minde of gravitie, and also restrained from lightnes, by the very unaptnesse of his weed. Therefore it is written by Aristotle, that when Cyrus had overcome the Lydians that were a warlike nation, and devised to bring them to a more peaceable life, hee changed their apparell and musick, and, in stead of their short warlike coat, cloathed them in long garments like women, and, in stead of their warlike musick, appointed to them certaine lascivious layes, and loose jiggs, by which in short space their mindes were so mollified and abated, that they forgot their former fiercenesse, and became most tender and effeminate; whereby it appeareth, that there is not a little in the garment to the fashioning of the minde and conditions. But be these, which you have described, the fashions of the Irish weedes?

Iren. No: all these which I have rehearsed to you, be not Irish garments, but English; for the quilted leather iack is old English: for it was the proper weed of the horseman, as you may read in Chaucer, when he describeth Sir Thopas apparell and armour, as hee went to fight against the gyant, in his robe of shecklaton, which is that kind of guilded leather with which they use to imbroyder their Irish iackets.

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And there likewise by all that description, you may see the very fashion and manner of the Irish horseman most truely set forth, in his long hose, his ryding shooes of costly cordwaine, his hacqueton, and his haberjeon, with all the rest thereunto belonging.

Eudox. I surely thought that the manner had beene Irish, for it is farre differing from that we have now, as also all the furniture of his horse, his strong brasse bit, his slyding reynes, his shanke pillion without stirruppes, his manner of mounting, his fashion of ryding, his charging of his speare aloft above head, the forme of his speare.

Iren. No sure; they be native English, and brought in by the Englishmen first into Ireland: neither is the same accounted an uncomely manner of ryding; for I have heard some great warriours say, that, in all the services which they had seene abroad in forraigne countreyes, they never saw a more comely man then the Irish man, nor that commeth on more bravely in his charge; neither is his manner of mounting unseemely, though hee lacke stirruppes, but more ready then with stirruppes; for, in his getting up, his horse is still going, whereby hee gayneth way. And therefore the stirrup was called so in scorne, as it were a stay to get up, being derived of the old English word sty, which, is, to get up, or mounte.

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Eudox. It seemeth then that you finde no fault with this manner of ryding? why then would you have the quilted iacke laid away?

Iren. I doe not wish it to be laide away, but the abuse thereof to be put away; for being used to the end that it was framed, that is, to be worne in warre under a shirt of mayle, it is allowable, as also the shirt of mayle, and all his other furniture: but to be worne daylie at home, and in townes and civile places, is a rude habite and most uncomely seeming like a players painted coate.

Eudox. But it is worne (they say) likewise of Irish footmen; how doe you allow of that? for I should thinke it very unseemely.

Iren. No, not as it is used in warre, for it is worne then likewise of footmen under their shirts of mayle, the [x] which footmen they call Galloglasses, the which name doth discover them also to be auncient English: for *Gall-ogla* signifies an English servitour or yeoman. And he being so armed in a long shirt of mayle downe to the calfe of his leg, with a long broad axe in his hand, was then *pedes gravis armaturæ*, and was insteed of the armed footeman that now weareth a corslet, before the corslet was used, or almost invented.

[x] *which footmen they call* Galloglasses,] See the note on *kern*, p. 370. TODD.

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Eudox. Then him belike you likewise allow in your straite reformation of old customes.

Iren. Both him and the kerne also, (whom onely I take to bee the proper Irish souldier,) can I allow, so that they use that habite and custome of theirs in the warres onely, when they are led forth to the service of their Prince, and not usually at home, and in civile places, and besides doe laye aside the evill and wilde uses which the galloglasse and kerne do use in their common trade of life.

Eudox. What be those?

Iren. Marrie those bee the most barbarous and loathly conditions of any people (I thinke) under heaven: for, from the time that they enter into that course, they doe use all the beastly behaviour that may bee; they oppresse all men, they spoile aswell the subject, as the enemy; they steale, they are cruell and bloodie, full of revenge and delighting in deadly execution, licentious, swearers, and blasphemers, common ravishers of woemen, and murtherers of children.

Eudox. These bee most villainous conditions; I marvaile then that they be ever used or imployed, or almost suffered to live; what good can there then be in them?

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Iren. Yet sure they are very valiaunt, and hardie, for the most part great indurers of colde, labour, hunger, and all hardnesse, very active and strong of hand, very swift of foot, very vigilant and circumspect in their enterprises, very present in perils, very great scorners of death.

Eudox. Truely by this that you say, it seemes that the Irishman is a very brave souldier.

Iren. Yea surely, in that rude kinde of service, hee beareth himselfe very couragiously. But when hee commeth to experience of service abroad, or is put to a peece, or a pike, hee maketh as worthie a souldiour as any nation hee meeteth with. But let us (I pray you) turne againe to our discourse of evill customes among the Irish.

Eudox. Me thinkes, all this which you speake of, concerneth the customes of the Irish very materially, for their uses in warre are of no small importance to bee considered, aswell to reforme those which are evill as to confirme and continue those which are good. But follow you your owne course, and shew what other their customes you have to dislike of.

Iren. There is amongst the Irish a certaine kind of people, called Bardes, [y] which are to them insteed

[y] *Bardes, which are to them insteed of poets,*] The reader, who would wish for all possible information on this point, cannot attain his object

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of poets, whose profession is to set foorth the praises or dispraises of men in their poems or rymes, the which are had in so high regard and estimation amongst them, that none dare displease them for feare to runne into reproach thorough their offence, and to be made infamous in the mouthes of all men. For their verses are taken up with a generall applause, and usually sung at all feasts and meetings, by certaine other persons, whose proper function that is, who also receive for the same great rewards and reputation amongst them.

Eudox. Doe you blame this in them which I would otherwise have thought to have beene worthy of good accompt, and rather to have beene maintained and augmented amongst them, then to have beene disliked? for I have reade that in all ages Poets have beene had in speciall reputation, and that (me thinkes) not without great cause; for besides their sweete inventions, and most wittie layes, they have alwayes used to set foorth the praises of the good and vertuous, and to beate downe and disgrace the bad and vitious. So that many brave yong mindes, have oftentimes thorough hearing the praises and famous eulogies of worthie men sung and reported unto them,

sooner than by consulting "Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards, interspersed with anecdotes of, and occasional observations on, the Music of Ireland: By Joseph Cooper Walker, Esq. M. R. I. A." Dublin, 1786. I recommend also, as a proper accompaniment to this ingenious work, the *Reliques of Ancient Irish Poetry* by Miss Brooke. TODD.

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beene stirred up to affect the like commendations, and so to strive to the like deserts. So they say that the Lacedemonians were more excited to desire of honour, with the excellent verses of the Poet Tirtæus, then with all the exhortations of their Captaines, or authority of their Rulers and Magistrates.

Iren. It is most true, that such Poets as in their writings doe labour to better the manners of men, and thorough the sweete baite of their numbers, to steale into the young spirits a desire of honour and vertue, are worthy to bee had in great respect. But these Irish Bardes are for the most part of another minde, and so farre from instructing yong men in morall discipline, that they themselves doe more deserve to bee sharpely disciplined; for they seldome use to choose unto themselves the doings of good men for the arguments of their poems, but whomsoever they finde to be most licentious of life, most bolde and lawlesse in his doings, most dangerous and desperate in all parts of disobedience and rebellious disposition, him they set up and glorifie in their rithmes, him they praise to the people, and to yong men make an example to follow.

Eudox. I marvaile what kinde of speeches they can finde, or what face they can put on, to praise such bad persons as live so lawleslie and licentiouslie upon stealthes and spoyles, as most of them doe, or how

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can they thinke that any good mind will applaude or approve the same.

Iren. There is, none so bad, Eudoxus, but shall finde some to favour his doings; but such licentious partes as these, tending for the most part to the hurt of the English, or maintenance of their owne lewde libertie, they themselves being most desirous therof, doe most allow. Besides this, evill things being decked and attired with the gay attire of goodly words, may easily deceive and carry away the affection of a young mind, that is not well stayed, but desirous by some bolde adventures to make proofe of himselfe; for being (as they all be brought up idely) without awe of parents, without precepts of masters, and without feare of offence, not being directed, nor imployed in any course of life, which may carry them to vertue, will easily be drawne to follow such as any shall set before them; for a yong minde cannot rest; if he be not still busied in some goodnesse, he will finde himselfe such businesse, as shall soone busie all about him. In which if he shall finde any to praise him, and to give him encouragement, as those Bardes and rythmers doe for little reward, or a share of a stolne cow, then waxeth he most insolent and halfe madde with the love of himselfe, and his owne lewd deeds. And as for words to set forth such lewdnes, it is not hard for them to give a goodly and painted shew thereunto, borrowed

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even from the praises which are proper to vertue it selfe. As of a most notorious thiefe and wicked out-law, which had lived all his life-time of spoyles and robberies, one of their Bardes in his praise will say, That he was none of the idle milke-sops that was brought up by the fire side, but that most of his dayes he spent in armes and valiant enterprises, that he did never eat his meat, before he had won it with his sword, that he lay not all night slugging in a cabbin under his mantle, but used commonly to keepe others waking to defend their lives, and did light his candle at the flames of their houses, to leade him in the darknesse; that the day was his night, and the night his day; that he loved not to be long wooing of wenches to yeeld to him, but where he came he tooke by force the spoyle of other mens love, and left but lamentation to their lovers; that his musick was not the harpe, nor layes of love, but the cryes of people, and clashing of armor; and finally, that he died not bewayled of many, but made many waile when he died, that dearly bought his death. Doe you not thinke (Eudoxus) that many of these praises might be applyed to men of best deserts? yet are they all yeelded to a most notable traytor, and amongst some of the Irish not smally accounted of. For the song, when it was first made and sung to a person of high degree there, was bought (as their manner is) for fourty crownes.

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Eudox. And well worthy sure. But tell me (I pray you) have they any art in their compostions? or bee they any thing wittie or well savoured, as poemes should be?

Iren. Yea truely, I have caused divers of them to be translated unto me, that I might understand them, and surely they savoured of sweet wit and good invention, but skilled not of the goodly ornaments of poetry; yet were they sprinkled with some pretty flowres of their naturall device, which gave good grace and comlinesse unto them, the which it is great pitty to see abused, to the gracing of wickednes and vice, which with good usage would serve to adorne and beautifie vertue. This evill custome therfore needeth reformation. And now next after the Irish Kerne, me thinks the Irish Hors-boyes would come well in order, the use of which, though necessity (as times now be) do enforce, yet in the thorough reformation of that realme they should be cut off. For the cause why they are now to be permitted, is want of convenient innes for lodging of travailers on hors-back, and of hostlers to tend their horses by the way. But when things shalbe reduced to a better passe, this needeth specially to be reformed. For out of the fry of these [z] rakehell horse-boyes, growing up in

[z] *these* rakehell *horse-boyes,*] These *base* or *outcast* horse-boys. Fr. *racaille.* See also F. Q. v. xi. 44. Gabriel Harvey calls Greene "a *rakehell,* a make-shift, &c." *Foure Letters,* &c. 1592. Sign. A. 2. b. TODD.

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knavery and villainy, are their kerne continually supplyed and maintained. For having been once brought up an idle horse-boy, he will never after fall to labour, but is only made fit for the halter. And these also (the which is one foule over-sight) are for the most part bred up amongst the Englishmen, of whom learning to shoote in a piece, and being made acquainted with all the trades of the English, they are afterwards when they become kerne, made more fit to cut their throats. Next to this, there is another much like, but much more lewde and dishonest, and that is, of their Carrows, which is a kinde of people that wander up and downe to Gentle-mens houses, living onely upon cardes and dice, the which, though they have little or nothing of their owne, yet will they play for much money, which if they winne, they waste most lightly, and if they lose, they pay as slenderly, but make recompence with one stealth or another, whose onely hurt is not, that they themselves are idle lossells, but that thorough gaming they draw others to like lewdnesse and idlenesse. And to these may be added another sort of like loose fellowes, which doe passe up and downe amongst gentlemen by the name of Iesters, but are (indeed) notable rogues, and partakers not onely of many stealthes, by setting forth other mens goods to be stolne, but also privy to many traitrous practices, and common carryers of newes, with desire whereof you would wonder how much the Irish are fed; for they use commonly to send up and downe to knowe newes, and if any meet with

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another, his second word is, What news? Insomuch that hereof is tolde a prettie jest of a French-man, who having beene sometimes in Ireland, where he marked their great inquirie for newes, and meeting afterwards in France an Irishman, whom hee knew in Ireland, first saluted him, and afterwards said thus merrily: O Sir, I pray you tell me of curtesie, have you heard any thing of the news, that you so much inquired for in your countrey?

Eudox. This argueth sure in them a great desire of innovation, and therfore these occasions which nourish the same must be taken away, as namely, those Iesters, Carrowes, [a] Mona-shules, and all such straglers, for whom (me thinkes) the short riddance of a Marshall were meeter then an ordinance or prohibition to restrain them. Therefore (I pray you) leave all this rabblement of runnagates, and passe to other customes.

Iren. There is a great use amongst the Irish, to make great assemblies together upon a rath or hill, there to parlie (as they say) about matters and wrongs betweene township and township, or one privat person and another. But well I wot, and true it hath beene oftentimes proved, that in their meetings many mischiefes have beene both practised and

[a] *Mona-shules,*] This is the manuscript reading, and is correct. See *Mona-shul* in p. 369. The printed copies read *Mona-shutes. Shuler,* I am told, is a common name for a wandering beggar in Ireland. Todd.

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wrought; for to them doe commonly resort all the scumme of the people, where they may meete and conferre of what they list, which else they could not doe without suspition or knowledge of others. Besides at these meetings I have knowne divers times, that many Englishmen, and good Irish subjects, have bin villanously murdered by moving one quarrell or another against them. For the Irish never come to those raths but armed, whether on horse or on foot, which the English nothing suspecting, are then commonly taken at advantage like sheep in the pin-folde.

Eudox. It may be (Iræneus) that abuse may be in those meetings. But [b] these round hills and square bawnes, which you see so strongly trenched and throwne up, were (they say) at first ordained for the same purpose, that people might assemble themselves therein, and therefore aunciently they were called [c] Folkmotes, that is, a place of people, to meete or talke of any thing that concerned any difference betweene parties and townеships, which seemeth yet to me very requisite.

Iren. You say very true, Eudoxus, the first making of these high hils, were at first indeed to very good purpose for people to meet; but howsoever the times

[b] *these round hills, and square* bawnes,] *Bawn* is evidently used by Spenser for an *eminence*. Of its etymology our lexicographers give no account. TODD.

[c] *Folk-motes,*] Vid. Hen. Spelmanni Glossarium. SIR JAMES WARE.

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when they were first made, might well serve to good occasions, as perhaps they did then in England, yet things being since altered, and now Ireland much differing from the state of England, the good use that then was of them, is now turned to abuse; for those hills whereof you speak, were (as you may gather by reading) appointed for 2 special uses, and built by 2 several nations. The one is that which you call Folk-motes, which were built by the Saxons, as the word bewraieth, for it signifieth in Saxon, a meeting of folk, and these are for the most part in forme foure square, well intrenched; the others that were round, were cast up by the Danes, as the name of them doth betoken, for they are called Danes-raths, that is, hills of the Danes, the which were by them devised, not for treaties and parlies, but appointed as fortes for them to gather unto, in troublesome time, when any trouble arose; for the Danes being but a few in comparison of the [d] Saxons (in England) used this for their safety; they made those small round hills, so strongly fenced, in every quarter of the hundred, to the end that if in the night, or any other time, any troublous cry or uproare should happen, they might repaire with all speed unto their owne fort, which was appointed for their quarter, and there remaine safe, till they could assemble themselves in greater strength; for they were

[d] *Saxons*] The like reason may be given for the making of such rathes in Ireland, by the Danes or Norwegians. Vid. Gir. Cambr. topog. Hib. distinct. 3. cap. 37. SIR JAMES WARE.

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made so strong with one small entrance, that whosoever came thither first, were he one or two, or like few, he or they might there rest safe, and defend themselves against many, till more succour came unto them: and when they were gathered to a sufficient number, they marched to the next fort, and so forward till they met with the perill, or knew the occasions thereof. But besides these two sorts of hills, there were anciently divers others; for some were raised, where there had been a great battle fought, as a memory or trophie thereof; others, as monuments of burialls, of the carcasses of all those that were slaine in any field, upon whom they did throwe such round mounts, as memorialls of them, and sometimes did cast up great heapes of stones, (as you may read the like in many places of the Scripture,) and other whiles they did throw up many round heapes of earth in a circle, like a garland, or pitch many long stones on end in compasse, every of which (they say) betokened some person of note there slaine and buried; for this was their auncient custome, before Christianity came in amongst them, that church-yards were inclosed.

Eudox. You have very well declared the originall of their mounts and great stones incompassed, which some vainely terme the ould Giants Trevetts, and thinke that those huge stones would not else be brought into order or reared up, without the strength of gyants. And others vainely thinke that they were

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never placed there by mans hand or art, but onely remained there so since the beginning, and were afterwards discovered by the deluge, and laide open as then by the washing of the waters, or other like casualty. But let them dreame their owne imaginations to please themselves, you have satisfied me much better, both for that I see some confirmation thereof in the Holy Writt, and also remember that I have read, in many Historyes and Chronicles, the like mounts and stones oftentimes mentioned.

Iren. There be many great authorities (I assure you) to prove the same, but as for these meetings on hills, whereof we were speaking, it is very inconvenient that any such should be permitted.

Eudox. But yet it is very needefull (me thinkes) for many other purposes, as for the countryes to gather together, when there is any imposition to be laide upon them, to the which they then may all agree at such meetings to devide upon themselves, according to their holdings and abilities. So as if at these assemblies, there be any officers, as Constables, Bayliffes, or such like amongst them, there can be no perill, or doubt of such bad practises.

Iren Neverthelesse, dangerous are such assemblies, whether for cesse or ought else, the Constables and Officers being also of the Irish; and if any of the English happen to be there, even to them they may

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prove perillous. Therefore for avoyding of all such evill occasions, they were best to be abolished.

Eudox. But what is that which you call cesse? it is a word sure unused among us here, therefore (I pray you) expound the same.

Iren. Cesse is none other then that which your selfe called imposition, but it is in a kinde unacquainted perhaps unto you. For there are cesses of sundry sorts; one is, the cessing of souldiours upon the countrey: For Ireland being a countrey of warre (as it is handled) and alwayes full of souldiours, they which have the government, whether they finde it the most ease to the Queenes purse, or the most ready meanes at hand for victualing of the souldiour, or that necessity inforceth them thereunto, do scatter the army abroad in the countrey, and place them in villages to take their victuals of them, at such vacant times as they lye not in campe, nor are otherwise imployed in service. Another kinde of cesse, is the imposing of provision for the Governors house-keeping, which though it be most necessary, and be also (for avoyding of all the evills formerly therein used) lately brought to a composition, yet it is not without great inconveniences, no lesse then here in England, or rather much more. The like cesse is also charged upon the countrey sometimes for victualling of the souldiours, when they lye in garrison, at such times as there is none remayning in the Queenes store, or

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that the same cannot be conveniently conveyed to their place of garrison. But these two are not easily to be redressed when necessity thereto compelleth; but as for the former, as it is not necessary, so it is most hurtfull and offensive to the poore country, and nothing convenient for the souldiers themselves, who, during their lying at cesse, use all kinde of outragious disorder and villany, both towards the poore men, which victuall and lodge them, as also to all the country round about them, whom they abuse, oppresse, spoyle, and afflict by all the meanes they can invent, for they will not onely not content themselves with such victuals as their hostes nor yet as the place perhaps affords, but they will have other meate provided for them, and *aqua vita* sent for, yea and money besides laide at their trenchers, which if they want, then about the house they walk with the wretched poore man and his silly wife, who are glad to purchase their peace with any thing. By which vile manner of abuse, the countrey people, yea and the very English which dwell abroad and see, and sometimes feele this outrage, growe into great detestation of the souldiours, and thereby into hatred of the very government, which draweth upon them such evills: And therefore this you may also ioyne unto the former evill customes, which we have to reprove in Ireland.

Eudox. Truly this is one not the least, and though the persons, by whom it is used, be of better note

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then the former roguish sort, which you reckoned, yet the fault (me thinkes) is no lesse worthy of a Marshall.

Iren. That were a harder course, Eudoxus, to redresse every abuse by a Marshall: it would seeme to you very evill surgery to cut off every unsound or sicke part of the body, which, being by other due meanes recovered, might afterwards doe very good service to the body againe, and haply helpe to save the whole: Therefore I thinke better that some good salve for the redresse of the evill bee sought forth, then the least part suffered to perish: but hereof wee have to speake in another place. Now we will proceede to other like defects, amongst which there is one generall inconvenience, which raigneth almost throughout all Ireland: that is, the Lords of land and Free-holders, doe not there use to set out their land in farme, or for tearme of yeares, to their tennants, but onely from yeare to yeare, and some during pleasure, neither indeede will the Irish tennant or husbandman otherwise take his land, then so long as he list himselfe. The reason hereof in the tennant is, for that the land-lords there use most shamefully to racke their tennants, laying upon them coigny and livery at pleasure, and exacting of them (besides his covenants) what he pleaseth. So that the poore husbandman either dare not binde himselfe to him for longer tearme, or thinketh, by his continuall liberty of change, to keepe his land-lord the rather in awe

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from wronging of him. And the reason why the land-lord will no longer covenant with him, is, for that he dayly looketh after change and alteration, and hovereth in expectation of new worlds.

Eudox. But what evill commeth hereby to the common-wealth, or what reason is it that any land-lord should not set nor any tennant take his land, as himselfe list?

Iren. Marry, the evils which commeth hereby are great, for by this meanes both the land-lord thinketh that he hath his tennant more at commaund, to follow him into what action soever hee shall enter, and also the tennant being left at his liberty is fit for every occasion of change that shall be offered by time: and so much also the more ready and willing is he to runne into the same, for that hee hath no such state in any his houlding, no such building upon any farme, no such coste imployed in fensing or husbanding the same, as might with-hold him from any such wilfull course, as his lords cause, or his owne lewde disposition may carry him unto. All which hee hath forborne, and spared so much expence, for that he had no firme estate in his tenement, but was onely a tennant at will or little more, and so at will may leave it. And this inconvenience may be reason enough to ground any ordinance for the good of the common-wealth, against the private behoofe or will of any landlord that shall refuse to graunt any such

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terme or estate unto his tennant, as may tende to the good of the whole realme.

Eudox. Indeede (me thinkes) it is a great willfullnes in any such land-lord to refuse to make any longer farmes unto their tennants, as may, besides the generall good of the realme, be also greatly for their owne profit and availe: For what reasonable man will not thinke that the tenement shalbe made much better for the lords behoofe, if the tennant may by such good meanes bee drawne to build himselfe some handsome habitation thereon, to ditch and inclose his ground, to manure and husband it as good farmours use? For when his tennants terme shal be expired, it will yeeld him, in the renewing his lease, both a good fine, and also a better rent. And also it shall be for the good of the tennant likewise, who by such buildings and inclosures shall receive many benefits: first, by the handsomenesse of his house, he shall take more comfort of his life, more safe dwelling, and a delight to keepe his said house neate and cleanely, which now being, as they commonly are, rather swyne-styes then houses, is the cheifest cause of his so beastly manner of life, and savage condition, lying and living together with his beast in one house, in one roome, in one bed, that is, cleane strawe, or rather a foul dunghill. And to all these other commodities hee shall in short time find a greater added, that is his owne wealth and riches increased, and wonderfully inlarged, by keeping his cattle in inclo-

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sures, where they shall alwayes have fresh pasture, that now is all trampled and over-runne; warme covert, that now lyeth open to all weather; safe being, that now are continually filched and stolne.

Iren. You have, Eudoxus, well accompted the commodities of this one good ordinance, amongst which, this that you named last is not the least; for, all the other being most beneficiall to the land-lord and tennant, this cheifly redoundeth to the good of the common-wealth, to have the land thus inclosed, and well fenced. For it is both a principall barre and impeachment unto theeves from stealing of cattle in the night, and also a gaule against all rebels, and outlawes, that shall rise up in any numbers against the governement; for the theife thereby shall have much adoe, first to bring forth and afterwards to drive away his stolne prey, but thorough the common high wayes, where he shall soone bee descryed and met withall: And the rebell or open enemy, if any such shall happen, either at home, or from abroad, shall easily be found when he commeth forth, and also be well incountered withall by a few, in so straight passages and strong inclosures. This therefore, when we come to the reforming of all those evill customes before mentioned, is needefull to be remembred. But now by this time me thinkes that I have well run thorough the evill uses which I have observed in Ireland. Neverthelesse I well wote that there be many more, and infinitely many more in the private abuses

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of men. But these that are most generall, and tending to the hurt of the common-weale, (as they have come to my remembrance) I have as breifly as I could rehearsed unto you. And therefore now I thinke best that we passe unto our third part, in which we noted inconveniences that are in religion.

Eudox. Surely you have very well handled these two former, and if yee shall as well goe thorough the third likewise, you shall merit a very good meed.

Iren. Little have I to say of religion, both because the parts thereof be not many, (it selfe being but one,) and my selfe have not much beene conversant in that calling: but as lightly passing by I have seene or heard: Therefore the fault which I finde in religion is but one, but the same is universall, thoroughout all that country, that is, that they be all Papists by their profession, but in the same so blindly and brutishly informed, (for the most part) that not one amongst a hundred knoweth any ground of religion, or any article of his faith, but can perhaps say his Pater noster, or his Ave Maria, without any knowledge or understanding what one word thereof meaneth.

Eudox. Is it not then a little blot to them that now hold the place of government, that they which now are in the light themselves, suffer a people under their charge to wallow in such deadly darkenesse?

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Iren. That which you blame, Eudox. is not (I suppose) any fault of will in those godly fathers which have charge thereof, but the inconvenience of the time and troublous occasions, wherewith that wretched realme hath continually beene turmoyled; for instruction in religion needeth quiet times, and ere we seeke to settle a sound discipline in the clergy, we must purchase peace unto the laity, for it is ill time to preach among swords, and most hard or rather impossible it is to settle a good opinion in the mindes of men for matters of religion doubtfull, which have doubtlesse an evill opinion of us. For ere a new be brought in, the old must be removed.

Eudox. Then belike it is meete that some fitter time be attended, that God send peace and quietnesse there in civill matters, before it be attempted in ecclesiasticall. I would rather have thought that (as it is said) correction must first begin at the house of God, and that the care of the soule should have beene preferred before the care of the body.

Iren. Most true, Eudoxus, the care of the soule and soule matters is to be preferred before the care of the body, in consideration of the worthynesse thereof, but not till the time of reformation; for if you should know a wicked person dangerously sicke, having now both soule and body greatly diseased, yet both recoverable, would you not thinke it evill advertizement to bring the preacher before the phisitian?

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for if his body were neglected, it is like that his languishing soule being disquieted by his diseasefull body, would utterly refuse and loath all spirituall comfort; but if his body were first recured, and broght to good frame, should there not then be found best time, to recover the soule also? So it is in the state of a realme: Therefore (as I said) it is expedient, first to settle such a course of government there, as thereby both civill disorders and ecclesiasticall abuses may be reformed and amended, whereto needeth not any such great distance of times, as (you suppose) I require, but one joynt resolution for both, that each might second and confirm the other.

Eudox. That we shall see when we come thereunto; in the meane time I conceive thus much, as you have delivered, touching the generall fault, which you suppose in religion, to wit, that it is popish; but doe you finde no particular abuses therein, nor in the ministers thereof?

Iren. Yes verily; for what ever disorders you see in the Church of England, yee may finde there, and many more: Namely, grosse simony, greedy covetousnesse, fleshly incontinency, carelesse sloath, and generally all disordered life in the common clergyman: And besides all these, they have their particular enormityes; for all Irish priests, which now injoy the church livings, they are in a manner meere laymen, saving that they have taken holy orders, but other-

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wise they doe goe and live like lay men, follow all kinde of husbandry, and other worldly affaires, as other Irish men doe. They neither read scriptures, nor preach to the people, nor administer the communion, but baptisme they doe, for they christen yet after the popish fashion, onely they take the tithes and offerings, and gather what fruite else they may of their livings, the which they convert as badly and some of them (they say) pay as due tributes and shares of their livings to their Bishops, (I speake of those which are Irish,) as they receive them duely.

Eudox. But is that suffered amongst them? It is wonder but that the governours doe redresse such shamefull abuses.

Iren. How can they, since they know them not? for the Irish bishops have their clergy in such awe and subjection under them, that they dare not complaine of them, so as they may doe to them what they please, for they knowing their owne unworthynesse and incapacity, and that they are therefore still removeable at their bishops will, yeeld what pleaseth him, and he taketh what he listeth; yea, and some of them whose diocesses are in remote parts, somewhat out of the worlds eye, doe not at all bestow the benefices, which are in their owne donation, upon any, but keep them in their owne hands, and set their owne servants and horse-boyes to take up the tithes and fruites of them, with the which some of

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them purchase great lands, and build faire castles upon the same. Of which abuse if any question be moved they have a very seemely colour and excuse, that they have no worthy ministers to bestow them upon, but keepe them so bestowed for any such sufficient person as any shall bring unto them.

Eudox. But is there no law nor ordinance to meet with this mischiefe? nor hath it never before beene looked into?

Iren. Yes, it seemes it hath, for there is a statute there enacted in Ireland, which seemes to have beene grounded upon a good meaning, That whatsoever Englishman of good conversation and sufficiencie, shall bee brought unto any of the bishoppes, and nominated unto any living, within their diocesse that is presently voyde, that he shall (without contradiction) be admitted thereunto before any Irish.

Eudox. This is surely a very good law, and well provided for this evill, whereof you speake; but why is not the same observed?

Iren. I thinke it is well observed, and that none of the bishops transgresse the same, but yet it worketh no reformation thereof for many defects. First there are no such sufficient English ministers sent over as might be presented to any bishop for any living, but the most part of such English as come over thither

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of themselves, are either unlearned, or men of some bad note, for which they have forsaken England. So as the bishop, to whom they shal be presented, may justly reject them as incapable and insufficient. Secondly, the bishop himselfe is perhappes an Irish man, who being made iudge, by that law, of the sufficiencie of the ministers, may at his owne will, dislike of the Englishman, as unworthy in his opinion, and admit of any Irish, whom hee shall thinke more for his turne. And if hee shall at the instance of any Englishman of countenance there, whom hee will not displease, accept of any such English minister as shall bee tendred unto him, yet hee will under hand carry such a hard hand over him, or by his officers wring him so sore, that hee will soone make him weary of his poore living. Lastly, the benefices themselves are so meane, and of so small profite in those Irish countreyes, thorough the ill husbandrie of the Irish people which doe inhabite them, that they will not yeelde any competent maintenance for any honest minister to live upon, scarcely to buy him a gowne. And were all this redressed (as haply it might bee) yet what good should any English minister doe amongst them, by teaching or preaching to them, which either cannot understand him, or will not heare him? Or what comfort of life shall he have, where his parishioners are so insatiable, so intractable, so ill-affected to him, as they usuall bee to all the English; or finally, how dare almost any honest minister, that are peaceable civill men, commit his

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safetie to the handes of such neighbours, as the boldest captaines dare scarcely dwell by?

Eudox. Little good then (I see) was by that statute wrought, how ever well intended; but the reformation thereof must grow higher, and be brought from a stronger ordinance, then the commaundement, or penaltie of a law, which none dare informe or complain of when it is broken; but have you any more of those abuses in the clergy?

Iren. I could perhappes reckon more, but I perceive my speech to grow too long, and these may suffise to judge of the generall disorders which raigne amongst them; as for the particulars, they are too many to be reckoned. For the clergy there (excepting the grave fathers which are in high place about the state, and some few others which are lately planted in their *new Colledge,) are generally bad, licentious, and most disordered.

Eudox. You have then (as I suppose) gone thorough those three first parts which you proposed unto your selfe, to wit, The inconveniencies which you observed in the lawes, in the customes, and in the religion of

*new Colledge] Trinity Colledge by Dublin, which was founded by Queene Eliz. 3 Martij 1591. The 13. of the same moneth, its first stone was laide by Thomas Smyth, then Mayor of Dublin, and the 9. of Jan 1593. it first admitted students.

SIR JAMES WARE.

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that land. The which (me thinkes) you have so thoroughly touched, as that nothing more remaineth to be spoken thereof.

Iren. Not so thoroughly as you suppose, that nothing can remaine, but so generally as I purposed, that is, to lay open the generall evills of that realme, which doe hinder the good reformation thereof; for, to count the particular faults of private men, should be a worke too infinite; yet some there be of that nature, that though they be in private men, yet their evill reacheth to a generall hurt, as the extortion of sheriffs, and their sub-sheriffs, and bayliffes, the corruption of victuallers, cessors, and purveyors, the disorders of [f] seneschalls, captaines, and their souldiers, and many such like: All which I will onely name here, that their reformation may bee mended in place where it most concerneth. But there is one very foule abuse, which by the way I may not omit, and that is in captaines, who notwithstanding that they are specially imployed to make peace thorough strong execution of warre, yet they doe so dandle their doings, and dallie in the service to them committed, as if they would not have the enemy subdued, or utterly beaten downe, for feare lest afterwardes they should need imployment, and so be discharged of pay: for which cause some of them that are layde in garrison, doe so handle the matter, that they will

[f] *the disorders of* seneschalls,] *Governours.* See F. Q. iv. i. 12, v. x. 30, vi. i. 15, 25. TODD.

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doe no great hurt to the enemyes, yet for colour sake some men they will kill, even halfe with the consent of the enemy, being persons either of base regard, or enemies to the enemy, whose heads eftsoones they send to the governor for a commendation of their great endevour, telling how weighty a service they performed, by cutting off such and such dangerous rebells.

Eudox. Truely this is a prettie mockerie, and not to be permitted by the governours.

Iren. But how can the governour know readily what persons those were, and what the purpose of their killing was? yea and what will you say, if the captaines do iustifie this their course by ensample of some of their governours, which (under Benedicite, I doe tell it to you,) doe practise the like sleight in their governments?

Eudox. Is it possible? Take heed what you say, Irenæus.

Iren. To you onely, Eudoxus, I doe tell it, and that even with great hearts griefe, and inward trouble of mind to see her Majestie so much abused by some who are put in speciall trust of those great affaires: of which, some being martiall men, will not doe alwayes what they may for quieting of things, but will rather winke at some faults, and will suffer them

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unpunished, lest that (having put all things in that assurance of peace that they might) they should seeme afterwards not to be needed, nor continued in their governments with so great a charge to her Maiestie. And therefore they doe cunningly carry their course of government, and from one hand to another doe bandie the service like a tennis-ball, which they will never strike quite away, for feare lest afterwards they should want.

Eudox. Doe you speake of under magistrates, Iræneus, or principall governours?

Iren. I doe speake of no particulars, but the truth may be found out by triall and reasonable insight into some of their doings. And if I should say, there is some blame thereof in the principall governours, I thinke I might also shew some reasonable proofe of my speech. As for example, some of them seeing the end of their government to draw nigh, and some mischiefes and troublous practice growing up, which afterwardes may worke trouble to the next succeeding governour, will not attempt the redresse or cutting off thereof, either for feare they should leave the realme unquiet at the end of their government, or that the next that commeth, should receive the same too quiet, and so happily winne more prayse thereof then they before. And therefore they will not (as I said) seeke at all to represse that evill, but will either by graunting protection for a time, or holding some

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emparlance with the rebell, or by treatie of commissioners, or by other like devices, onely smother and keepe downe the flame of the mischiefe, so as it may not breake out in their time of government: what comes afterwards, they care not, or rather wish the worst. This course hath beene noted in some governors.

Eudox. Surely (Irenæus) this, if it were true, should bee worthy of an heavy iudgment: but it is hardly to bee thought, that any governour should so much either envie the good of that realme which is put into his hand, or defraude her Maiestie who trusteth him so much, or maligne his successour which shall possesse his place, as to suffer an evill to grow up, which he might timely have kept under, or perhaps to nourish it with coloured countenance, or such sinister meanes.

Iren. I doe not certainely avouch so much, (Eudoxus) but the sequele of things doth in a manner proove, and plainly speake so much, that the governours usually are envious one of anothers greater glory, which if they would seeke to excell by better governing, it should be a most laudable emulation. But they doe quite otherwise. For this (as you may marke) is the common order of them, that who commeth next in place, will not follow that course of government, how ever good, which his predecessors held, either for disdaine of himselfe, or doubt to have his

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doings drowned in another mans praise, but will straight take a way quite contrary to the former: as if the former thought (by keeping under the Irish) to reforme them: the next, by discountenancing the English, will curry favour with the Irish, and so make his government seeme plausible, as having all the Irish at his commaund: but he that comes after, will perhappes follow neither the one nor the other, but will dandle the one and the other in such sort, as hee will sucke sweete out of them both, and leave bitternesse to the poore countrey, which if he that comes after shall seeke to redresse, he shall perhappes find such crosses, as hee shall hardly bee able to beare, or doe any good that might worke the disgrace of his predecessors. Examples you may see hereof in the governours of late times sufficiently, and in others of former times more manifestly, when the government of that realme was committed sometimes to the Geraldines, as when the House of Yorke had the Crowne of England; sometimes to the Butlers, as when the House of Lancaster got the same. And other whiles, when an English governour was appointed, hee perhappes found enemies of both.

Eudox. I am sorry to heare so much as you report, and now I begin to conceive somewhat more of the cause of her continuall wretchednes then heeretofore I found, and wish that this inconvenience were well looked into; for sure (me thinkes) it is more weightie then all the former, and more hardly to be redressed

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in the governor then in the governed; as a malady in a vitall part is more incurable then in an externall.

Iren. You say very true; but now that we have thus ended all the abuses and inconveniences of that government which was our first part. It followeth now, that we passe unto the second part, which was of the meanes to cure and redresse the same, which wee must labour to reduce to the first beginning thereof.

Eudox. Right so, Irenæus: for by that which I have noted in all this your discourse, you suppose, that the whole ordinance and institution of that realmes government, was both at first, when it was placed, evill plotted, and also sithence, thorough other over-sights, came more out of square to that disorder which it is now come unto, like as two indirect lines, the further that they are drawne out, the further they goe asunder.

Iren. I doe see, Eudoxus, and as you say, so thinke, that the longer that government thus continueth, in the worse course will the realme be; for it is all in vaine that they now strive and endeavour by faire meanes and peaceable plotts to redresse the same, without first remmoving all those inconveniences, and new framing (as it were) in the forge, all that is worne out of fashion: For all other meanes will be but as lost labour, by patching up one hole to make

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many; for the Irish doe strongly hate and abhorre all reformation and subjection to the English, by reason that having beene once subdued by them, they were thrust out of all their possessions. So as now they feare, that if they were againe brought under, they should be likewise expelled out of all, which is the cause that they hate the English government, according to the saying, "Quem metuunt oderunt:" Therefore the reformation must now bee the strength of a greater power.

Eudox. But me thinkes that might be by making of good lawes, and establishing of new statutes, with sharpe penalties and punishments, for amending of all that is presently amisse, and not (as you suppose) to beginne all as it were anew, and to alter the whole forme of the governement, which how dangerous a thing it is to attempt, you your selfe must needes confesse, and they which have the managing of the realmes whole policy, cannot, without great cause, feare and refraine; for all innovation is perillous, insomuch as though it bee meant for the better, yet so many accidents and fearefull events may come betweene, as that it may hazard the losse of the whole.

Iren. Very true, Eudoxus; all change is to be shunned, where the affaires stand in such sort, as that they may continue in quietnes, or be assured at all to abide as they are. But that in the realme of Ireland we see much otherwise, for every day wee

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perceive the troubles growing more upon us, and one evill growing upon another, insomuch as there is no part now sound or ascertained, but all have their eares upright, wayting when the watch-word shall come, that they should all arise generally into rebellion, and cast away the English subjection. To which there now little wanteth; for I thinke the word be already given, and there wanteth nothing but opportunitie, which truely is the death [g] of one noble person, who being himselfe most stedfast to his soveraigne Queene, and his countrey, coasting upon the South-Sea, [h] stoppeth the ingate of all that evill which is looked for, and holdeth in all those which are at his becke, with the terrour of his greatnesse, and the assurance of his most immoveable loyaltie: And therefore where you thinke, that good and sound lawes might amend, and reforme things there amisse, you think surely amisse. For it is vaine to prescribe lawes, where no man careth for keeping of them, nor feareth the daunger for breaking of them. But all the realme is first to be reformed, and lawes are afterwards to bee made for keeping and continuing it in that reformed estate.

Eudox. How then doe you think is the reformation thereof to be begunne, if not by lawes and ordinances?

[g] *of one noble person,*] Meaning Sir Walter Raleigh. TODD.

[h] *stoppeth the* ingate] *Entrance.* Again; "Those two cities do offer an *ingate* to the Spaniard most fitly." See also F. Q. iv. x. 12. TODD.

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Iren. Even by the sword; for all these evills must first be cut away by a strong hand, before any good can bee planted, like as the corrupt braunches and unwholesome boughs are first to bee prumed, and the foule mosse cleansed and scraped away, before the tree can bring forth any good fruite.

Eudox. Did you blame me even now, for wishing of Kerne, Horse-boyes, and Carrowes to be cleane cut off, as too violent a meanes, and doe you your selfe now prescribe the same medicine? Is not the sword the most violent redresse that may bee used for any evill?

Iren. It is so; but where no other remedie may bee devised, nor hope of recovery had, there must needes this violent meanes bee used. As for the loose kinde of people which you would have cut off, I blamed it, for that they might otherwise perhaps bee brought to good, as namely by this way which I set before you.

Eudox. Is not your way all one with the former in effect, which you found fault with, save onely this odds, that I said by the halter, and you say by the sword? what difference is there?

Iren. There is surely great, when you shall understand it; for by the sword which I named, I did not meane the cutting off all that nation with the sword,

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which farre bee it from mee, that I should ever thinke so desperately, or wish so uncharitably, but by the sword I meane the royall power of the Prince, which ought to stretch it selfe forth in the chiefest strength to the redressing and cutting off those evills, which I before blamed, and not of the people which are evill. For evill people, by good ordinances and government, may be made good; but the evill that is of it selfe evill, will never become good.

Eudox. I pray you then declare your minde at large, how you would wish that sword, which you mean, to be used in the reformation of all those evills.

Iren. The first thing must be to send over into that realme, such a strong power of men, as should perforce bring in all that rebellious route and loose people, which either doe now stand out in open armes, or in wandring companies doe keepe the woods, spoyling the good subjects.

Eudox. You speake now, Irenæus, of an infinite charge to her Majestie, to send over such an army, as should tread downe all that standeth before them on foot, and lay on the ground all the stiff-necked people of that land, for there is now but one out-law of any great reckoning, to wit, the Earle of Tyrone, abroad in armes, against whom, you see what huge charges shee hath beene at this last yeare, in sending of men, providing of victualls, and making head against him;

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yet there is little or nothing at all done, but the Queenes treasure spent, her people wasted, the poor countrey troubled, and the enemy nevertheless brought into no more subjection then he was, or list outwardly to shew, which in effect is none, but rather a scorne of her power, and emboldening of a proud rebell, and an incouragement to all like lewdlie disposed traytors, that shall dare to lift up their heele against their Soveraigne Lady. Therefore it were hard counsell to drawe such an exceeding great charge upon her, whose event should be so uncertaine.

Iren. True indeede, if the event should bee uncertaine, but the certainty of the effect hereof shall be so infallible, as that no reason can gainesay it, neither shall the charge of all this army (the which I demaund) be much greater, then so much as in these last two yeares warres, have vainely been expended. For I dare undertake, that it hath coste the Queene about 200000 pounds already, and for the present charge, that she is now at there, amounteth to very neere 12000 pounds a moneth, whereof cast you the accompt; yet nothing is done. The which summe, had it beene employed as it should bee, would have effected all this which now I goe about.

Eudox. How meane you to have it imployed, but to bee spent in the pay of souldiours, and provision of victualls?

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Iren. Right so, but it is now not disbursed at once, as it might be, but drawne out into a long length, by sending over now 20000 pounds, and next halfe yeare 10000 pounds; so as the souldiour in the meane time for want of due provision of victual, and good payment of his due, is starved and consumed; that of a 1000 which came over lusty able men, in halfe a yeare there are not left 500. And yet is the Queenes charge never a whit the lesse, but what is not payd in present mony, is accounted in debt, which will not be long unpayd; for the Captaine, halfe of whose souldiours are dead, and the other quarter never mustered, nor seéne, comes shortly to demand payment of his whole accompt, where by good meanes of some great ones, and privy shareings with the officers and servants of other some, hee receiveth his debt, much lesse perhaps then was due, yet much more indeede then he justly deserved.

Eudox. I take this sure to be no good husbandry; for what must needes be spent, as good spend it at once, where is enough, as to have it drawne out into long delayes, seeing that thereby both the service is much hindred, and yet nothing saved: but it may be, Irenæus, that the Queenes treasure in so great occasions of disbursements (as it is well knowne she hath beene at lately) is not alwayes so ready, nor so plentifull, as it can sparre so great a summe together, but being payed as it is, now some, and then some, it is no great burthen unto her, nor any great impo-

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verishment to her coffers, seeing by such delay of time, it dailie cometh in, as fast as she parteth it out.

Iren. It may be as you say, but for the going thorough of so honorable a course I doubt not but if the Queenes coffers be not so well stored, (which we are not to looke into) but that the whole realme which now, as things are used, doe feele a continuall burthen of that wretched realme hanging upon their backes, would, for a small riddance of all that trouble, be once troubled for all; and put to all their shoulders, and helping hands and hearts also, to the defraying of that charge, most gladfully and willingly; and surely the charge in effect, is nothing to the infinite great good, which should come thereby, both to the Queene, and all this realme generally, as when time serveth shall be shewed.

Eudox. How many men would you require to the furnishing of this which yee take in hand? and how long space would you have them entertained?

Iren. Verily not above 10000. footemen, and a 1000. horse, and all these not above the space of a yeare and a halfe, for I would still, as the heate of the service abateth, abate the number in pay, and make other provision for them as I will shew.

Eudox. Surely it seemeth not much which you require, nor no long time; but how would you have

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them used? would you leade forth your army against the enemy, and seeke him where he is to fight?

Iren. No, Eudoxus; that would not be, for it is well knowne that he is a flying enemie, hiding himselfe in woodes and bogges, from whence he will not drawe forth, but into some straight passage or perillous foord, where he knowes the army must needes passe; there will he lye in waite, and, if hee finde advantage fit, will dangerously hazard the troubled souldiour. Therefore to seeke him out that still flitteth, and follow him that can hardly bee found, were vaine and bootlesse; but I would devide my men in garrison upon his countrey, in such places as I should thinke might most annoy him.

Eudox. But how can that be, Irenæus, with so few men? for the enemie, as you now see, is not all in one countrey, but some in Ulster, some in Connaught, and others in Leinster. So as to plant strong garrisons in all those places should need manye more men then you speake of, or to plant all in one, and to leave the rest naked, should be but to leave them to the spoyle.

Iren. I would wish the cheife power of the army to be garrisoned in one countrey that is strongest, and the other upon the rest that is weakest: As for example, the Earle of Tyrone is now accompted the strongest, upon him would I lay 8000 men in garrison, 1000

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upon Pheagh Mac-Hugh and the Cavanaghes, and 1000 upon some parts of Connaght, to be at the direction of the Governour.

Eudox. I see now all your men bestowed, but what places would you set their garrison that they might rise out most conveniently to service? and though perhaps I am ignorant of the places, yet I will take the mappe of Ireland, and lay it before me, and make mine eyes (in the meane time) my schoole-masters, to guide my understanding to judge of your plot.

Iren. Those eight thousand in Ulster I would devide likewise into foure parts, so as there should be 2000 footemen in every garrison; the which I would thus place. Upon the Blacke water, in some convenient place, as high upon the river as might be, I would lay one garrison. Another would I put at Castle-liffer, or there-abouts, so as they should have all the passages upon the river to Logh-foyle. The third I would place about Fermanagh or Bundroise, so as they might lye betweene Connaght and Ulster, to serve upon both sides, as occasion shall be offered, and this therefore would I have stronger than any of the rest, because it should be most inforced, and most imployed, and that they might put wardes at Balls-shanon and Belick, and all those passages. The last would I set about Monaghan or Balturbut, so as it should fronte both upon the enemie that way, and also keepe the countreys of Cavan and Meath in awe,

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from passage of straglers from those parts, whence they use to come forth, and oftentimes use to worke much mischeife. And to every of these garrisons of 2000. footemen, I would have 200. horsemen added, for the one without the other can doe but little service. The 4 garrisons, thus being placed, I would have to bee victualled before hand for halfe a yeare, which you will say to be hard, considering the corruption and usuall waste of victualls. But why should not they be aswell victualled for so long time, as the ships are usually for a yeare, and sometimes two, seeing it is easier to keepe victual on land then water? Their bread I would have in flower, so as it might be baked still to serve their necessary want. Their beere there also brewed within them, from time to time, and their beefe before hand barrelled, the which may bee used but as it is needed: For I make no doubt but fresh victualls they will sometimes purvay for themselves, amongst their enemies. Hereunto likewise would I have them have a store of hose and shooes, with such other necessaries as may be needefull for souldiours, so as they shall have no occasion to looke for releife from abroad, or occasion of such trouble, for their continuall supply, as I see and have often proved in Ireland to bee more cumberous to the Deputy, and dangerous to them that releive them, then halfe the leading of an army; for the enemy, knowing the ordinary wayes thorough the which their releife must be brought them, useth commonly to draw

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himselfe into the straight passages thitherward, and oftentimes doth dangerously distresse them; besides the pay of such force as should be sent for their convoy, the charge of the carriages, the exactions of the countrey shall be spared. But onely every halfe yeare the supply brought by the Deputy himselfe, and his power, who shall then visite and overlooke all those garrisons, to see what is needefull to change, what is expedient, and to direct what hee shall best advise. And those 4 garrisons issuing forth, at such convenient times as they shall have intelligence or espiall upon the enemy, will so drive him from one side to another, and tennis him amongst them, that he shall finde no where safe to keepe his creete in, nor hide himselfe, but flying from the fire shall fall into the water, and out of one danger into another, that in short space his creete, which is his cheife sustenence, shall be wasted with preying, or killed with driving, or starved for want of pasture in the woods, and be himselfe brought so lowe, that he shall have no heart nor ability to indure his wretchednesse, the which will surely come to passe in very short time; for one winter well followed upon him will so plucke him on his knees, that he will never be able to stand up againe.

Eudox. Doe you then thinke the winter time fittest for the services of Ireland? how falls it then that our most imployments bee in summer, and the armies then led commonly forth?

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Iren. It is surely misconceived; for it is not with Ireland as it is with other countryes, where the warres flame most in summer, and the helmets glister brightest in the fairest sunshine: But in Ireland the winter yeeldeth best services, for then the trees are bare and naked, which use both to cloath and house the kerne; the ground is cold and wet, which useth to be his bedding; the aire is sharpe and bitter, to blowe thorough his naked sides and legges; the kyne are barren and without milke, which useth to be his onely foode, neither if he kill them, will they yeeld him flesh, nor if he keepe them, will they give him food, besides being all with calfe (for the most part) they will, thorough much chasing and driving, cast all their calves, and lose their milke, which should releive him the next summer.

Eudox. I doe well understand your reason; but by your leave, I have heard it otherwise said, of some that were outlawes: That in summer they kept themselves quiet, but in winter they would play their parts, and when the nights were longest, then burne and spoyle most, so that they might safely returne before day.

Iren. I have likewise heard, and also seene proofe thereof true: But that was of such outlawes as were either abiding in well inhabited countryes, as in Mounster, or bordering on the English pale, as Feagh Mac Hugh, the Cavanaghes, the Moors, the Dempsies, or such like: For, for them the winter indeede is the

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fittest time for spoyling and robbing, because the nights are then (as you said) longest and darkest, and also the countryes round about are then most full of corne, and good provision to be gotten every where by them, but it is farre otherwise with a strong peopled enemy, that possesse a whole countrey; for the other being but a few, and indeede privily lodged, and kept in out villages, and corners nigh to the woodes and mountaines, by some of their privy friends, to whom they bring their spoyles and stealthes, and of whom they continually receive secret releife; but the open enemy having all his countrey wasted, what by himselfe, and what by the souldiours, findeth them succour in no place: Townes there are none, of which he may get spoyle, they are all burnt: bread he hath none, he ploweth not in summer: Flesh he hath, but if he kill it in winter, he shall want milke in summer, and shortly want life. Therefore if they bee well followed but one winter, you shall have little worke with them the next summer.

Eudox. I doe now well perceive the difference, and doe verily thinke that the winter time is there fittest for service; withall I conceive the manner of your handling of the service, by drawing suddaine draughts upon the enemy, when he looketh not for you, and to watch advantages upon him, as hee doth upon you. By which straight keeping of them in, and not suffering them at any time long to rest, I must needes thinke that they will soone be brought lowe, and driven to

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great extreamities. All which when you have performed, and brought them to the very last cast, suppose that they will offer, either to come to you and submit themselves, or that some of them will seeke to withdraw themselves, what is your advice to doe? will you have them received?

Iren. No, but at the beginning of those warres, and when the garrisons are well planted, and fortified, I would wish a proclamation were made generally, to come to their knowledge: That what persons soever would within twenty dayes absolutely submit themselves, (excepting onely the very principalls and ringleaders,) should finde grace: I doubt not, but upon the settling of these garrisons, such a terrour and neere consideration of their perillous state, would be strucken into most of them, that they will covet to drawe away from their leaders. And againe I well know that the rebells themselves (as I saw by proofe in Desmonds warre) will turne away all their rascall people, whom they thinke unserviceable, as old men, women, children, and hyndes, (which they call churles,) which would onely waste their victualls, and yeeld them no ayde; but their cattle they will surely keepe away: These therefore, though policy would turne them backe againe, that they might the rather consume and afflict the other rebells, yet in a pittyfull commisseration I would wish them to be received; the rather for that this sort of base people doth not for the most part rebell of themselves, having

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no heart thereunto, but are by force drawne by the grand rebells into their action, and carryed away with the violence of the streame, else they should be sure to loose all that they have, and perhaps their lives too: The which they now carry unto them, in hope to enjoy them there, but they are there by the strong rebells themselves, soone turned out of all, so that the constraint hereof may in them deserve pardon. Likewise if any of their able men or gentlemen shall then offer to come away, and to bring their cattle with them, as some no doubt may steale them away privily, I wish them also to be received, for the disabling of the enemy, but withall, that good assurance may be taken for their true behaviour and absolute submission, and that then they be not suffered to remaine any longer in those parts, no nor about the garrisons, but sent away into the inner parts of the realme, and dispersed in such sort as they may not come together, nor easily returne if they would: For if they might bee suffered to remaine about the garrisons, and there inhabite, as they will offer to till the ground, and yeeld a great part of the profit thereof, and of their cattle, to the Coronell, wherewith they have heretofore tempted many, they would (as I have by experience knowne) bee ever after such a gaule and inconvenience to them, as that their profit shall not recompence their hurt; for they will privily releive their friends that are forth; they will send the enemy secret advertizements of all their purposes and journeyes, which they meane to make upon them; they

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will not also sticke to drawe the enemy privily upon them, yea and to betray the forte it selfe, by discovery of all her defects and disadvantages (if any be) to the cutting of all their throates. For avoiding whereof and many other inconveniencies, I wish that they should be carried farre from hence into some other parts, so that (as I say) they come in and submit themselves, upon the first summons: But afterwards I would have none received, but left to their fortune and miserable end: my reason is, for that those which will afterwards remaine without, are stout and obstinate rebells, such as will never be made dutiful and obedient, nor brought to labour or civill conversation, having once tasted that licentious life, and being acquainted with spoyle and out-rages, will ever after be ready for the like occasions, so as there is no hope of their amendment or recovery, and therefore needefull to be cut off.

Eudox. Surely of such desperate persons, as will follow the course of their owne folly, there is no compassion to bee had, and for others you have proposed a mercifull meanes, much more then they have deserved, but what then shall be the conclusion of this warre? for you have prefixed a short time of its continuance.

Iren. The end will (I assure me) bee very short and much sooner then can be in so great a trouble, as it seemeth hoped for, although there should none of

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them fall by the sword, nor bee slaine by the souldiour, yet thus being kept from manurance, and their cattle from running abroad, by this hard restraint they would quickly consume themselves, and devoure one another. The proofe whereof, I saw sufficiently exampled in these late warres of Mounster; for notwithstanding that the same was a most rich and plentifull countrey, full of corne and cattle, that you would have thought they should have beene able to stand long, yet ere one yeare and a halfe they were brought to such wretchednesse, as that any stony heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner [i] of the woods and glynnes they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legges could not beare them; [k] they looked like anatomies of death, they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eate the dead carrions, happy where they could finde them, yea, and one another soone after, insomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves; and, if they found a plot of water-cresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the

[i] *of the woods and* glynnes] *Glens*, that is, dales or vallies; here spelt in the original edition *glynnes* perhaps in conformity to the Irish pronunciation. So *pen* was accustomed, in the same country, to be pronounced *pin*. See *Castle Rack-Rent, an Hibernian Tale*, &c. p. 77. TODD.

[k] *they looked like anatomies of death,*] Thus Shakspeare, in his Comedy of Errors :

" They brought one Pinch, a hungry lean-faced villain,
" A mere *anatomy*, a mountebank, &c.
" A needy, hollow-eyed, sharp-looking wretch,
" A *living dead man*." TODD.

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time, yet not able long to continue therewithall; that in short space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentifull countrey suddainely left voyde of man and beast; yet sure in all that warre, there perished not many by the sword, but all by the extremitie of famine, which they themselves had wrought.

Eudox. It is a wonder that you tell, and more to bee wondred how it should so shortly come to passe.

Iren. It is most true, and the reason also very ready; for you must conceive that the strength of all that nation, is the Kerne, Galloglasse, Stocah, Horseman, and Horseboy, the which having beene never used to have any thing of their owne, and now being upon spoyle of others, make no spare of any thing, but havocke and confusion of all they meet with, whether it bee their owne friends goods, or their foes. And if they happen to get never so great spoyle at any time, the same they waste and consume in a tryce, as naturally delighting in spoyle, though it doe themselves no good. On the other side, whatsoever they leave unspent, the souldier when hee commeth there, spoyleth and havocketh likewise, so that betweene both nothing is very shortly left. And yet this is very necessary to bee done for the soone finishing of the warre, and not only this in this wise, but also those subiects which doe border upon those parts, are either to bee removed and drawne away, or likewise to bee spoyled, that the enemy may find no succour thereby.

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For what the souldier spares, the rebell will surely spoyle.

Eudox. I doe now well understand you. But now when all things are brought to this passe, and all filled with these ruefull spectacles of so many wretched carcases starving, goodly countreys wasted, so huge desolation and confusion, that even I that doe but heare it from you, and do picture it in my minde, doe greatly pittie and commisserate it. If it shall happen, that the state of this miserie and lamentable image of things shall bee tolde, and feelingly presented to her Sacred Maiestie, being by nature full of mercy and clemency, who is most inclinable to such pittifull complaints, and will not endure to heare such tragedies made of her poore people and subiects, as some about her may insinuate; then she perhappes, for very compassion of such calamities, will not onely stoppe the streame of such violences, and returne to her wonted mildnesse, but also conne them little thankes which have beene the authours and counsellours of such bloodie platformes. So I remember that in the late govevernment of that good Lord Grey, when after long travell, and many perillous assayes, he had brought things almost to this passe that you speake of, that it was even made ready for reformation, and might have beene brought to what her Maiestie would, like complaint was made against him, that he was a bloodie man, and regarded not the life of her subiects no more than dogges, but had wasted and consumed

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all, so as now she had nothing almost left, but to raigne in their ashes; eare was soon lent therunto, and all suddenly turned topside-turvy; the noble Lord eft-soones was blamed; the wretched people pittied; and new counsells plotted, in which it was concluded that a general pardon should be sent over to all that would accept of it, upon which [1]all former purposes were blancked, the Governour at a bay, and not only all that great and long charge which shee had before beene at quite lost and cancelled, but also that hope of good which was even at the doore put back, and cleane frustrated. All which, whether it be true, or no, your selfe can well tell.

Iren. Too true, Eudoxus, the more the pitty, for I may not forget so memorable a thing: neither can I bee ignorant of that perillous device, and of the whole meanes by which it was compassed, and very cunningly contrived by sowing first dissention betweene him, and an other Noble Personage; wherein they both at length found how notably they had beene abused, and how thereby under hand this universall alteration of things was brought about, but then too late to stay the same; for in the meane time all that was formerly done with long labor, and great toyle, was (as you say) in a moment undone, and that good Lord blotted with the name of a bloody man, whom,

[1] *all former purposes were* blancked,] *Confounded* or *disappointed.* So Shakspeare, in *Hamlet*:

"Each opposite that *blanks* the face of joy." TODD.

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who that well knew, knew to be most gentle, affable, loving, and temperate; but that the necessitie of that present state of things inforced him to that violence, and almost changed his naturall disposition. But otherwise he was so farre from delighting in blood, that oftentimes he suffered not just vengeance to fall where it was deserved: and even some of them which were afterwardes his accusers, had tasted too much of his mercy, and were from the gallowes brought to bee his accusers. But his course indeede was this, that hee spared not the heades and principalls of any mischievous practises or rebellion, but shewed sharpe iudgement on them, chiefly for ensamples sake, that all the meaner sort, which also were generally then infected with that evill, might by terrour thereof bee reclaymed, and saved, if it were possible. For in the last conspiracy of [m] some of the English Pale, thinke you not that there were many more guiltie then they that felt the punishment? yet hee touched only a few of speciall note; and in the tryall of them also even to prevent the blame of cruelty and partiall proceeding, and seeking their blood, which he, as in his great wisedome (as it seemeth) did fore-see would bee objected against him; hee, for the avoyding thereof, did use a singular discretion and regard. For the Iury that went upon their tryall, hee made to bee chosen out of their nearest kinsmen, and their Iudges he made of some of their owne fathers, of others their

[m] *some of the English Pale,*] Consulas (si placet) Camden. annal. rerum Anglic. & Hiber. ad an. 1580. SIR J: WARE.

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uncles and dearest friends, who when they could not but justly condemne them, yet hee uttered their judgment in aboundance of teares, and yet hee even herein was called bloody and cruell.

Eudox. Indeed so have I heard it heere often spoken, but I perceive (as I alwayes verily thought) that it was most unjustly, for hee was alwayes knowne to bee a most iust, sincere, godly, and right noble man, farre from such sternenesse, farre from such unrighteousnesse. But in that sharpe execution of the Spaniards, at the Fort of Smerwicke, I heard it speeially noted, and if it were true as some reported, surely it was a great touch to him in honour, for some say that he promised them life; others at least hee did put them in hope thereof.

Iren. Both the one and the other is most untrue; for this I can assure you, my selfe being as neare them as any, that hee was so farre either from promising, or putting them in hope, that when first their Secretarie (called, as I remember) Signior Ieffrey an Italian, being sent to treate with the Lord Deputie for grace, was flatly refused; and afterwards their [a] Coronell named Don Sebastian, came forth to intreate that they might part with their armes like souldiers, at least with their lives according to the custome of warre, and law of nations; it was strongly denyed

[a] *Coronell*] The old word for *Colonel*. See Cotgrave in V. "A *coronell* or colonell." Todd.

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him, and tolde him by the Lord Depatie himselfe, that they could not iustly pleade either custome of warre, or law of nations, for that they were not any lawfull enemies, and if they were, hee willed them to shew by what commission they came thither into another Princes dominions to warre, whether from the Pope or the King of Spaine, or any other; the which when they said they had not, but were onely adventurers that came to seeke fortune abroad, and to serve in warre amongst the Irish, who desired to entertaine them; it was then tolde them, that the Irish themselves, as the Earle and Iohn of Desmond, with the rest, were no lawfull enemies; but rebells and traytours; and therefore they that came to succour them, no better then rogues and runnagates, specially comming with no licence, nor commission from their owne King: So as it should bee dishonourable for him in the name of his Queene, to condition or make any tearmes with such rascalls, but left them to their choyce, to yeeld and submit themselves, or no: Whereupon the said Colonell did absolutely yeeld himselfe and the fort, with all therein, and craved onely merey, which it being not thought good to shew them, for daunger of them, if, being saved, they should afterwardes ioyne with the Irish; and also for terrour to the Irish, who are much imboldened by those forraigne succours, and also put in hope of more ere long: there was no other way but to make that short end of them as was made. Therefore most untruely and maliciously doe these evill tongues backbite and slander the

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sacred ashes of that most iust and honourable personage, whose least virtue of many most excellent that abounded in his heroicke spirit, they were never able to aspire unto.

Eudox. Truely, Irenæus, I am right glad to be thus satisfied by you, in that I have often heard questioned, and yet was never able till now, to choake the mouth of such detractours, with the certaine knowledge of their slanderous untruthes, neither is the knowledge hereof impertinent to that which wee formerly had in hand, I meane for the thorough prosecuting of that sharpe course which you have set downe for the bringing under of those rebells of Ulster and Connaght, and preparing a way for their perpetuall reformation, least haply, by any such sinister suggestions of crueltie and too much blood-shed, all the plot might be overthrowne, and all the coste and labour therein imployed bee utterly lost and cast away.

Iren. You say most true; for, after that Lords calling away from thence, the two Lords Iustices continued but a while: of which the one was of minde (as it seemed) to have continued in the footing of his predecessors, but that he was curbed and restrayned. But the other was more mildly disposed, as was meete for his profession, and willing to have all the wounds of that common-wealth healed and recured, but not with that heede as they should bee After, when Sir Iohn Perrot succeeding (as it were) into another mans har-

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vest, found an open way to what course hee list, the which hee bent not to that point which the former governours intended, but rather quite contrary, as it were in scorne of the former, and in vaine vaunt of his owne councells, with the which hee was too wilfully carryed; for hee did treade downe and disgrace all the English, and set up and countenance the Irish all that hee could, whether thinking thereby to make them more tractable and buxome to his government, (wherein hee thought much amisse,) or privily plotting some other purposes of his owne, as it partly afterwards appeared; but surely his manner of governement could not be sound nor wholesome for that realme, it being so contrary to the former. For it was even as two physicians should take one sicke body in hand, at two sundry times: of which the former would minister all things meete to purge and keepe under the bodie, the other to pamper and strengthen it suddenly againe, whereof what is to bee looked for but a most daungerous relapse? That which wee now see thorough his rule, and the next after him, happened thereunto, being now more daungerously sicke then ever before. Therefore by all meanes it must be fore-seene and assured, that after once entering into this course of reformation, there bee afterwards no remorse nor drawing backe for the sight of any such ruefull objects, as must thereupon followe, nor for compassion of their calamities, seeing that by no other meanes it is possible to cure them, and that these are not of will, but of very urgent necessitie.

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Eudox. Thus farre then you have now proceeded to plant your garrisons, and to direct their services, of the which neverthelesse I must needes conceive that there cannot be any certaine direction set downe, so that they must follow the occasions which shall bee daylie offered, and diligently awayted. But by your leave (Irenæus) notwithstanding all this your carefull fore-sight and provision (mee thinkes) I see an evill lurke unespyed, and that may chance to hazard all the hope of this great service, if it bee not very well looked into, and that is, the corruption of their captaines; for though they be placed never so carefully, and their companies filled never so sufficiently, yet may they, if they list, discarde whom they please, and send away such as will perhappes willingly bee ridde of that dangerous and hard service, the which (well I wote) is their common custome to doe, when they are layde in garrison, for then they may better hide their defaults, then when they are in campe, where they are continually eyed and noted of all men. Besides, when their pay commeth, they will (as they say) detaine the greatest portions thereof at their pleasure, by a hundred shifts that need not here be named, through which they oftentimes deceive the souldier, and abuse the Queene, and greatly hinder the service. So that let the Queene pay never so fully, let the muster-master view them never so diligently, let the deputy or generall looke to them never so exactly, yet they can cozen them all. Therefore me-thinkes it were good,

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if it be possible, to make provision for this inconvenience.

Iren. It will surely be very hard; but the chiefest helpe for prevention hereof must be the care of the coronell that hath the government of all his garrison, to have an eye to their alterations, to know the numbers and names of their sick souldiers, and the slaine, to marke and observe their rankes in their daylie rising forth to service, by which he cannot easily bee abused, so that hee himselfe bee a man of speciall assurance and integritie. And therefore great regard is to bee had in the choosing and appointing of them. Besides, I would not by any meanes, that the captaines should have the paying of their souldiers, but that there should bee a pay-master appointed, of speciall trust, which should pay every man according to his captaines ticket, and the accompt of the clerke of his band, for by this meanes the captaine will never seeke to falsifie his alterations, nor to diminish his company, nor to deceive his souldiers, when nothing thereof shalbe sure to come unto himselfe, but what is his owne bare pay. And this is the manner of the Spaniards captaine, who never hath to meddle with his souldiers pay, and indeed scorneth the name as base, to be counted [n] his souldiers pagadore; whereas the contrary amongst us hath brought things to so bad a

[n] *his souldiers* pagadore;] *Pagador*, Spanish; a paymaster or treasurer. TODD.

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passe, that there is no captaine, but thinkes his band very sufficient, if hee can muster 60: and stickes not to say openly, that he is unworthy to have a captainship, that cannot make it worth 500*l.* by the yeare, the which they right well verifie by the proofe.

Eudox. Truely I thinke this is a very good meanes to avoid that inconvenience of captaines abuses. But what say you to the coronell? what authority thinke you meete to be given him? whether will you allow him to protect or safe conduct, and to have martiall lawes as they are accustomed?

Iren. Yea verily, but all these to bee limited with very straite instructions. As first for protections, that hee shall have authority after the first proclamation, for the space of twentie dayes, to protect all that shall come in, and them to send to the Lord Deputy, with their safe conduct or passe, to bee at his disposition, but so as none of them returne backe againe, being once come in, but be presently sent away out of the countrey, to the next sheriffe, and so conveyed in safetie. And likewise for martiall lawe, that to the souldier it bee not extended, but by tryall formerly of his cryme, by a iury of his fellow souldiers as it ought to bee, and not rashly, at the will or displeasure of the coronell, as I have sometimes seene too lightly. And as for other of the rebells that shall light into their handes, that they bee well aware of what condition they bee, and what holding they have. For, in

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the last generall warres there, I knew many good freeholders executed by martiall law, whose landes were thereby saved to their heires, which should have otherwise escheated to her Majestie. In all which, the great discretion and uprightnesse of the coronell himselfe is to bee the cheifest stay both for all those doubts, and for many other difficulties that may in the service happen.

Eudox. Your caution is very good; but now touching the arch-rebell himselfe, I meane the Earle of Tyrone, if he, in all the time of these warres, should offer to come in and submit himselfe to her Majestie, would you not have him received, giving good hostages, and sufficient assurance of himselfe?

Iren. No, marrie; for there is no doubt, but hee will offer to come in, as hee hath done divers times already, but it is without any intent of true submission, as the effect hath well shewed, neither indeed can hee now, if hee would, come in at all, nor give that assurance of himselfe that should bee meete: for being as hee is very subtle headed, seeing himselfe now so farre engaged in this bad action, can you thinke that by his submission, hee can purchase to himselfe any safetie, but that heereafter, when things shall bee quieted, these his villanies will be ever remembered? and whensoever hee shall treade awry, (as needes the most righteous must sometimes) advantage will bee taken thereof, as a breach of his

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pardon, and hee brought to a reckoning for all former matters; besides, how hard it is now for him to frame himselfe to subjection, that having once set before his eyes the hope of a kingdome, hath therunto not onely found incouragement from the greatest King in Christendome, but also found great faintnes in her Maiesties withstanding him, whereby he is animated to think that his power is able to defend him, and offend further then he hath done, whensoever he please, let every reasonable man iudge. But if hee himselfe should come and leave all other, his accomplices without, as O Donel, Mac Mahone, Maguire, and the rest, he must needs thinke that then even they will ere long cut his throate, which having drawne them all into this occasion, now in the midst of their trouble giveth them the slip; whereby hee must needes perceive how impossible it is for him to submit himselfe. But yet if hee would so doe, can he give any good assurance of his obedience? For how weake hould is there by hostages, hath too often beene proved, and that which is spoken of taking Shane O-Neales sonnes from him, and setting them up against him as a very perillous counsaile, and not by any meanes to be put in proofe; for were they let forth and could overthrowe him, who should afterwards overthrow them, or what assurance can be had of them? It will be like the tale in Æsop, of the wild horse, who, having enmity with the stagg, came to a man to desire his ayde against his foe, who yeelding thereunto mounted upon his backe, and so following the stagge, ere long slew him,

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but then when the horse would have him alight he refused, but ever after kept him in his subjection and service. Such I doubt would bee the proofe of Shane O-Neales sonnes. Therefore it is most dangerous to attempt any such plot; for even that very manner of plot, was the meanes by which this trayterous Earle is now made great: For when the last O-Neale, called Terlagh Leinagh, began to stand upon some tickle termes, this fellow then, called Baron of Dungannon, [o] was set up as it were to beard him, and countenanced and strengthened by the Queene so far, as that he is now able to keepe her selfe play: much like unto a gamester that having lost all, borroweth of his next fellow-gamester somewhat to maintaine play, which he setting unto him againe, shortly thereby winneth all from the winner.

Eudox. Was this rebell then set up at first by the Queene (as you say) and now become so undutifull?

Iren. He was (I assure you) the most outcast of all the O-Neales then, and lifted up by her Majesty out of the dust, to that he hath now wrought himselfe unto, and now hee playeth like the frozen snake, who being for compassion releived by the husbandman, soone after he was warme began to hisse, and threaten danger even to him and his.

[o] *was set up as it were to* beard *him,*] To *affront* him. See F. Q. vi. v. 12, and the note thereto. Todd.

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Eudox. He surely then deserveth the punishment of that snake, and should worthily be hewed to peeces. But if you like not the letting forth of Shane O-Neales sonnes against him, what say you then of that advice which (I heard) was given by some, to draw in Scotts, to serve against him? how like you that advice?

Iren. Much worse then the former; for who that is experienced in those parts knoweth not that the O-Neales are neearely allyed unto the Mac-Neiles of Scotland, and to the Earle of Argyle, from whence they use to have all succours of those Scottes and Redshankes: Besides all these Scottes are, through long continuance, intermingled and allyed to all the inhabitants of the North? [p] so as there is no hope that they will ever be wrought to serve faithfully against their old friends and kinsmen: And though they would, how when they have overthrowne him, and the warres are finished, shall they themselves be put out? Doe we not all know, that the Scottes were the first inhabitants of all the North, and that those which now are called the North Irish, are indeed [q] very Scottes, which challenge the ancient inheritance and dominion of that countrey, to be their owne aunciently: This then were but to leap out of the pan

[p] *so that there is no hope* &c.] The causes of these feares have been amputated, since the happy union of England and Scotland, established by his late Majesty. Sir James Ware.

[q] *very Scottes,*] Vide Bed. Eccles. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 1.
Sir James Ware.

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into the fire: For the cheifest caveat and provision in reformation of the North, must be to keep out those Scottes.

Eudox. Indeede I remember, that in your discourse of the first peopling of Ireland, you shewed that the Scythians or Scottes were the first that sate downe in the North, whereby it seemes that they may challenge some right therein. How comes it then that O-Neale claimes the dominion thereof, and this Earle of Tyrone saith that the right is in him? I pray you resolve me herein? for it is very needefull to be knowne, and maketh unto the right of the warre against him, whose successe useth commonly to be according to the justnes of the cause, for which it is made: For if Tyrone have any right in that seigniory (me thinkes) it should be wrong to thrust him out: Or if (as I remember) you said in the beginning, that O-Neale, when he acknowledged the King of England for his leige Lord and Soveraigne, did (as he alleadgeth) reserve in the same submission his seigniories and rights unto himselfe, what should it be accounted to thrust him out of the same?

Iren. For the right of O-Neale in the seigniory of the North, it is surely none at all: For besides that the Kings of England conquered all the realme, and thereby assumed and invested all the right of that land to themselves and their heires and successours for ever, so as nothing was left in O-Neale but what he

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received backe from them, O-Neale himselfe never had any ancient seigniory over that country, but what by usurpation and incroachment after the death of the Duke of Clarence, he got upon the English, whose lands and possessions being formerly wasted by the Scottes, under the leading of Edward le Bruce, (as I formerly declared unto you) he eft-soones entred into, and sithence hath wrongfully detained, through the other occupations and great affaires which the Kings of England (soone after) fell into here at home, so as they could not intend to the recovery of that countrey of the North, nor restraine the insolency of O-Neale; who, finding none now to withstand him, raigned in that desolation, and made himselfe Lord of those few people that remained there, upon whom ever sithence he hath continued his first usurped power, and now exacteth and extorteth upon all men what he list; so that now to subdue or expell an usurper, should bee no unjust enterprise or wrongfull warre, but a restitution of auncient right unto the crowne of England, from whence they were most unjustly expelled and long kept out.

Eudox. I am very glad herein to be thus satisfied by you, that I may the better satisfie them, whom I have often heard to object these doubts, and slaunderously to barke at the courses which are held against that trayterous Earle and his adherents. But now that you have thus settled your service for Ulster and Connaght, I would bee glad to heare your opinion for

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the prosecuting of Feagh Mac Hugh, who being but a base villaine, and of himselfe of no power, yet so continually troubleth the state, notwithstanding that he lyeth under their nose, that I disdaine his bold arrogancy, and thinke it to be the greatest indignity to the Queene that may be, to suffer such a caytiffe to play such *Rex*, and by his ensample not onely to give heart and incouragement to all such bad rebells, but also to yeeld them succour and refuge against her Majesty, whensoever they fly unto his Comericke, whereof I would first wish before you enter into your plot of service against him, that you should lay open by what meanes he, being so base, first lifted himselfe up to this dangerous greatnes, and how he maintaineth his part against the Queene and her power, notwithstanding all that hath beene done and attempted against him. And whether also hee have any pretence of right in the lands which he houldeth, or in the warres that he maketh for the same?

Iren. I will so, at your pleasure, and will further declare, not only the first beginning of his private house, but also the originall of the Sept of the Birnes and Tooles, so farre as I have learned the same from some of themselves, and gathered the rest by reading: The people of the Birnes and Tooles (as before I shewed unto you my conjecture) descended from the auncient Brittaines, which first inhabited all those easterne parts of Ireland, as their names doe betoken;

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for [r] Brin in the Brittish language signifieth wooddy, and Toole hilly, which names it seemes they tooke of the countryes which they inhabited, which is all very mountainous and woody. In the which it seemeth that ever since the comming in of the English with [s] Dermot ni-Gall, they have continued: Whether that their countrey being so rude and mountainous was of them despised, and thought unworthy the inhabiting, or that they were received to grace by them, and suffered to enjoy their lands, as unfit for any other, yet it seemeth, that in some places of the same they have put foote, and fortified with sundry castles, of which the ruines onely doe there now remaine, since which time they are growne to that strength, that they are able to lift up hand against all that state; and now lately through the boldnes and late good successe of this Feagh Mac Hugh, they are so farre imboldened, that they threaten perill even to Dublin, over whose necke they continually hang. But touching your demand of this Feaghes right unto that countrey which he claimes, or the seigniory therein,

[r] *Brin in the Brittish language signifieth wooddy,*] In Richard Creagh's booke De Lingua Hibernica, there is a very plentiful collection of Irish words, derived from the Brittish or Welch tongue, which doth much strengthen the authors opinion, in houlding that the Birnes, Tooles, and Cavenaghs, with other the ancient inhabitants of the easterne parts, were originally British colonyes. SIR JAMES WARE.

[s] *Dermot ni-Gall,*] Dermot Mac Morrogh, King of Leinster, who was surnamed ni-Gall, as being a friend to the English, and chiefe instrument in inciting them to the conquest of Ireland. SIR JAMES WARE.

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it is most vaine and arrogant. For this you cannot be ignorant, that it was part of that which was given in inheritance by Dermot Mac Morrough, King of Leinster, unto Strongbowe with his daughter, and which Strongbowe gave over unto the King and his heires, so as the right is absolutely now in her Majesty, and if it were not, yet could it not be in this Feagh, but in [t] O Brin, which is the ancient Lord of all that countrey; for he and his auncestours were but followers unto O Brin; and his grandfather Shane Mac Terlagh, was a man of meanest regard amongst them, neither having wealth nor power. But his sonne Hugh Mac Shane, the father of this Feagh, first began to lift up his head, and through the strength and great fastnes of Glan-Malor, which adjoyneth unto his house of Ballinecor, drew unto him many theeves and out-lawes, which fled unto the succour of that glynne, as to a sanctuary, and brought unto him part of the spoyle of all the countrey, through which he grew strong, and in short space got unto himselfe a great name thereby amongst the Irish, in whose footing this his sonne continuing, hath, through many unhappy occasions, increased his said name, and the opinion of his greatnes, insomuch that now he is become a dangerous enemy to deale withall.

Eudox. Surely I can commend him, that being of himselfe of so meane condition, hath through his owne hardinesse lifted himselfe up to the height, that he

[t] *O Brin,*] Or O-Birne. SIR JAMES WARE.

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dare now front princes, and make tearmes with great potentates; the which as it is to him honourable, so it is to them most disgracefull, to be bearded of such a base varlet, that being but of late growne out of the dunghill, beginneth now to overcrow so high mountaines, and make himselfe great protectour of all outlawes and rebells that will repaire unto him. But doe you thinke he is now so dangerous an enemy as he is counted, or that it is so hard to take him downe as some suppose?

Iren. No verily, there is no great reckoning to bee made of him; for had he ever beene taken in hand, when the rest of the realme (or at least the parts adjoyning) had ben quiet, as the honourable gent. that now governeth there (I meane Sir William Russell) [u] gave a notable attempt thereunto, and had worthily performed it, if his course had not beene crossed unhappily, he could not have stood 3. moneths, nor ever have looked up against a very meane power: but now all the parts about him being up in a madding moode, as the Moores in Leix, the Cavenaghes in the county of Wexford, and some of the Butlers in the county of Kilkenny, they all flocke unto him, and drawe into his countrey, as to a strong hould, where they thinke to be safe from all that prosecute them: And from thence they doe at their pleasures breake out into all the borders adjoyning, which are well

[u] *gave a notable attempt thereunto,*] Vide Camdeni annales, sub finem anni 1594. SIR JAMES WARE.

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peopled countryes, as the counties of Dublin, of Kildare, of Catherlagh, of Kilkenny, of Wexford, with the spoiles whereof they victuall and strengthen themselves, which otherwise should in short time be starved, and sore pined; so that what he is of himselfe, you may hereby perceive.

Eudox. Then by so much as I gather out of your speech, the next way to end the warres with him, and to roote him out quite, should be to keepe him from invading of those countryes adjoyning, which (as I suppose) is to be done, either by drawing all the inhabitants of those next borders away, and leaving them utterly waste, or by planting garrisons upon all those frontiers about him, that, when he shall breake forth, may set upon him and shorten his returne.

Iren. You conceive very rightly, Eudoxus, but for that the dispeopling and driving away all the inhabitants from the countrey about him, which you speake of, should bee a great confusion and trouble aswell for the unwillingnesse of them to leave their possessions, as also for placing and providing for them in other countryes, (me thinkes) the better course should be by planting of garrisons about him, which whensoever he shall looke forth, or be drawne out with the desire of the spoyle of those borders, or for necessity of victuall, shall be alwayes ready to intercept his going or comming.

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Eudox Where then doe you wish those garrisons to be planted that they may serve best against him, and how many in every garrison?

Iren. I my selfe, by reason that (as I told you) I am no martiall man, will not take upon me to direct so dangerous affaires, but onely as I understood by the purposes and plots, which the Lord Gray who was well experienced in that service, against him did lay downe: To the performance whereof he onely required 1000. men to be laid in 6. garrisons, that is, at Ballinecor 200. footemen and 50. horsemen, which should shut him out of his great glynne, whereto he so much trusteth; at Knockelough 200. footemen and 50. horsemen, to answere the county of Caterlagh; at Arclo or Wicklow 200. footemen and 50. horsemen to defend all that side towards the sea. In Shillelagh 100. footemen which should cut him from the Cavanaghes, and the county of Wexford; and about the three castles 50. horsemen, which should defend all the county of Dublin; and 100. footemen at Talbots Towne, which should keepe him from breaking out into the county of Kildare, and be alwayes on his necke on that side: The which garrisons so laide, will so busie him, that he shall never rest at home, nor stirre forth abroad but he shall be had; as for his creete they cannot be above ground, but they must needes fall into their hands or starve, for he hath no fastnes nor refuge for them. And as for his partakers of the Moores, Butlers, and Cavanaghes, they will

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soone leave him, when they see his fastnes and strong places thus taken from him.

Eudox. Surely this seemeth a plot of great reason, and small difficulty, which promiseth hope of a short end. But what speciall directions will you set downe for the services and risings out of these garrisons?

Iren. None other then the present occasions shall minister unto them, and as by good espialls, whereof there they cannot want store, they shall be drawne continually upon him, so as one of them shall be still upon him, and sometimes all at one instant, bayting him. And this (I assure my selfe) will demaund no long time, but will be all finished in the space of one yeare, which how small a thing it is, unto the eternall quietnesse which shall thereby be purchased to that realme, and the great good which should growe to her Majesty, should (me thinkes) readily drawe on her Highnesse to the undertaking of the enterprise.

Eudox. You have very well (me thinkes), Irenæus, plotted a course for the atchieving of those warres now in Ireland, which seemes to ask no long time, nor great charge, so as the effecting thereof bee committed to men of sure trust, and sound experience, aswell in that country, as in the manner of those services; for if it bee left in the hands of such rawe captaines, as are usually sent out of England, being thereunto onely

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preferred by friendship, and not chosen by sufficiency, it will soone fall to the ground.

Iren. Therefore it were meete (me thinkes) that such captaines onely were thereunto employed, as have formerly served in that country, and been at least lieutenants unto other captaines there. For otherwise being brought and transferred from other services abroad, as in France, in Spain, and in the Low-countryes, though they be of good experience in those, and have never so well deserved, yet in these they will be new to seeke, and, before they have gathered experience, they shall buy it with great losse to her Majesty, either by hazarding of their companies, through ignorance of the places, and manner of the Irish services, or by losing a great part of the time which is required hereunto, being but short, in which it might be finished, almost before they have taken out a new lesson, or can tell what is to be done.

Eudox. You are no good friend to new captaines; it seemes Iren. that you barre them from the credit of this service: but (to say truth) me thinkes it were meete, that any one before he came to be a captaine, should have beene a souldiour; for, "Parere qui nescit, nescit imperare." And besides there is great wrong done to the old souldiour, from whom all meanes of advancement which is due unto him, is cut off, by shuffling in these new cutting captaines, into the place for which he hath long served, and perhaps better

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deserved. But now that you have thus (as I suppose) finished all the warre, and brought all things to that low ebbe which you speake of, what course will you take for the bringing in of that reformation which you intend, and recovering all things from this desolate estate, in which (mee thinkes) I behold them now left, unto that perfect establishment and new common-wealth which you have conceived of, by which so great good may redound unto her Majesty, and an assured peace bee confirmed? for that is it whereunto wee are now to looke, and doe greatly long for, being long sithence made weary with the huge charge which you have laide upon us, and with the strong indurance of so many complaints, so many delayes, so many doubts and dangers, as will hereof (I know well) arise; unto the which before wee come, it were meete (me thinkes) that you should take some order for the souldiour, which is now first to bee discharged and disposed of, some way: the which if you doe not well fore-see, may growe to as great inconvenince as all this that I suppose you have quit us from, by the loose leaving of so many thousand souldiours, which from thence forth will be unfit for any labour or other trade, but must either seeke service and imployment abroad, which may be dangerous, or else imploy themselves heere at home, as may bee discommodious.

Iren. You say very true, and it is a thing much mislyked in this our common-wealth, that no better course is taken for such as have been imployed in ser-

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vice, but that returning, whether maymed, and so unable to labour, or otherwise whole and sound, yet afterwards unwilling to worke, or rather willing to set the hang-man on work. But that needeth another consideration; but to this which wee have now in hand, it is farre from my meaning to leave the souldiour so at randome, or to leave that waste realme so weake and destitute of strength, which may both defend it against others that might seeke then to set upon it, and also keepe it from that relapse which I before did fore-cast. For it is one speciall good of this plot, which I would devise, that 6000. souldiers of these whom I have now imployed in this service, and made throughly acquainted both with the state of the countrey, and manners of the people, should henceforth bee still continued, and for ever maintayned of the countrey, without any charge to her Majestie; and the rest that are either olde, and unable to serve any longer, or willing to fall to thrift, as I have seene many souldiers after the service to prove very good husbands, should bee placed in part of the landes by them wonne, at such rate, or rather better then others, to whome the same shall be set out.

Eudox. Is it possible, Irenæus? can there be any such meanes devised, that so many men should be kept still in her Majesties service, without any charge to her at all? Surely this were an exceeding great good, both to her Highnes to have so many olde souldiers alwayes ready at call, to what purpose soever she list

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to imploy them, and also to haye that land thereby so strengthned, that it shall neither feare any forraine invasion, nor practise, which the Irish shall ever attempt, but shall keepe them under in continuall awe and firme obedience

Iren. It is so indeed. And yet this truely I doe not take to be any matter of great difficultie, as I thinke it will also soone appeare unto you. And first we will speake of the North part, for that the same is of more weight and importance. So soone as it shall appeare that the enemy is brought downe, and the stout rebell either cut off, or driven to that wretchednesse, that hee is no longer able to holde up his head, but will come in to any conditions, which I assure my selfe will bee before the end of the second Winter, I wish that there bee a generall proclamation made, that whatsoever out-lawes will freely come in, and submit themselves to her Majesties mercy, shall have liberty so to doe, where they shall either finde that grace they desire, or have leave to returne againe in safety; upon which it is likely that so many as survive, will come in to sue for grace, of which who so are thought meet for subjection, and fit to be brought to good, may be received, or else all of them; (for I thinke that all wilbe but a very few;) upon condition and assurance that they will submit themselves absolutely to her Maiesties ordinance for them, by which they shall be assured of life and libertie, and be onely tyed to such conditions as shall bee thought by her meet

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for containing them ever after in due obedience. To the which conditions I nothing doubt, but they will all most readily, and upon their knees submit themselves, by the proofe of that which I have seene in Mounster. For upon the like proclamation there, they all came in both tagg and ragg, and when as afterwardes many of them were denyed to be received, they bade them doe with them what they would, for they would not by any meanes returne againe, nor goe forth. For in that case who will not accept almost of any conditions, rather than dye of hunger and miserie?

Eudox. It is very likely so. But what then is the ordinance, and what bee the conditions which you will propose unto them, which shall reserve unto them an assurance of life and liberty?

Iren. So soone then as they have given the best assurance of themselves which may be required, which must be (I suppose) some of their principall men to remaine in hostage one for another, and some other for the rest, for other surety I reckon of none that may binde them, neither of wife, nor of children, since then perhappes they would gladly be ridde of both from the famine; I would have them first unarmed utterly, and stripped quite of all their warrelike weapons, and then, these conditions set downe and made knowne unto them, that they shall bee placed in Leinster, and have land given to them to occupy and to

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live upon, in such sort as shall become good subjects, to labour thenceforth for their living, and to apply themselves to honest trades of civility, as they shall every one be found meete and able for.

Eudox. Where then a Gods name will you place them in Leinster? or will you finde out any new land there for them that is yet unknowne?

Iren. No, I will place them all in the countrey of the Birnes and Tooles, which Pheagh Mac Hugh hath, and in all the lands of the Cavanaghes, which are now in rebellion, and all the lands which will fall to her Majestie there-abouts, which I know to be very spacious and large enough to containe them, being [a] very neere twenty or thirty miles wyde.

Eudox. But then what will you doe with all the Birnes, the Tooles, and the Cavanaghes, and all those that now are joyned with them?

Iren. At the same very time, and in the same very manner that I make that proclamation to them of Ulster, will I have it also made to these, and upon their submission thereunto, I will take like assurance of them as of the other. After which, I will translate

[a] *very neere twenty or thirty miles wyde.*] This carrieth no fit proportion for the transplantation intended by the author, considering the large extent of Ulster, and the narrow bounds heere limited.

SIR JAMES WARE.

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all that remaine of them unto the places of the other in Ulster, with all their creete, and what else they have left them, the which I will cause to be divided amongst them in some meete sort, as each may thereby have somewhat to sustaine himselfe a while withall, untill, by his further travaile and labour of the earth, he shalbe able to provide himselfe better.

Eudox. But will you give the land then freely unto them, and make them heires of the former rebells? so may you perhaps make them also heires of all their former villainies and disorders; or how else will you dispose of them?

Iren. Not so: but all the lands will I give unto Englishmen, whom I will have drawne thither, who shall have the same with such estates as shall bee thought meete, and for such rent as shall eft-soones bee rated; under every of those Englishmen will I place some of those Irish to bee tennants for a certaine rent, according to the quantity of such land, as every man shall have allotted unto him, and shalbe found able to wield, wherein this speciall regard shall be had, that in no place under any land-lord there shall bee many of them placed together, but dispersed wide from their acquaintance, and scattered farre abroad thorough all the country: For that is the evill which now I finde in all Ireland, that the Irish dwell altogether by their septs, and severall nations, so as they may practise or conspire what they will; whereas if

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there were English well placed among them, they should not bee able once to stirre or to murmure, but that it should be knowne, and they shortened according to their demerites.

Eudox. You have good reason; but what rating of rents meane you? to what end doe you purpose the same?

Iren. My purpose is to rate the rent of all those lands of her Maiestie, in such sort unto those Englishmen which shall take them, as they shall be well able to live thereupon, [y] to yeeld her Maiesty reasonable chiefrie, and also give a competent maintenance unto the garrisons, which shall be there left amongst them; for those souldiours (as I tolde you) remaining of the former garrisons, I cast to maintaine upon the rent of those landes, which shall bee escheated, and to have them divided thorough all Ireland, in such places as shalbe thought most convenient, and occasion may require. And this was the course which the Romanes observed in the conquest of England, for they planted some of their legions in all places convenient, the which they caused the countrey to maintaine, cutting upon every portion of land a reasonable rent, which they called Romescot, the which might not surcharge the tennant or free-holder, and might defray the pay of the garrison: and this hath beene alwayes observed

[y] *to yeeld her Maiesty reasonable* chiefrie.] *Chiefrie* is a small rent paid to the Lord paramount. JOHNSON.

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by all princes in all countries to them newly subdued, to set garrisons amongt them, to containe them in dutie whose burthen they made them to beare; and the want of this ordinance in the first conquest of Ireland by Henry the Second, was thc cause of the so short decay of that government, and the quicke recovery againe of the Irish. Therefore by all meanes it is to bee provided for. And this is that I would blame, if it should not misbecome mee, in the late planting of Mounster, that no care was had of this ordinance nor any strength of garrison provided for, by a certaine allowance out of all the saide landes, but onely the present profite looked into, and the safe continuance thereof for ever hereafter neglected.

Eudox. But there is a band of souldiours layde in Mounster, to the maintenance of which, what oddes is there whether the Queene, receiving the rent of the countrey, doe give pay at her pleasure, or that there be a setled allowance appointed unto them out of her lands there?

Iren. There is great oddes: for now that said rent of the countrey is not appointed to the pay of the souldiers, but it is, by every other occasion comming betweene, converted to other uses, and the souldiours in time of peace discharged and neglected as unnecessary; whereas if the said rent were appointed and ordained by an establishment to this end onely, it should not bee turned to any other; nor in troublous

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times, upon every occasion, her Majestie bee so troubled with sending over new souldiours as shee is now, nor the countrie ever should dare to mutinie, having still the souldiour in their neck, nor any forraine enemy dare to invade knowing there so strong and great a garrison, allwayes ready to receive them.

Eudox. Sith then you thinke that this Romescot of the pay of the souldiours upon the land, to be both the readiest way to the souldiours, and least troublesome to her Majestie; tell us (I pray you) how would you have the said lands rated, that both a rent may rise thereout unto the Queene, and also the souldiours receive pay, which (me thinkes) wilbe hard?

Iren. First we are to consider, how much land there is in all Ulster, that according to the quantity thereof we may cesse the said rent and allowance issuing thereout. Ulster (as the ancient records of that realme doe testifie) doth containe 9000. plow-lands, every of which plow-lands containeth 120. acres, after the rate of 21. foote to every perch of the acre, every of which plow-lands I will rate at 40 s. by the yeare; the which yearely rent amounteth in the whole to 18000 l. besides 6 s. 8 d. chiefrie out of every plow-land. But because the countie of Louth, being a part of Ulster, and containing in it 712. plow-lands is not wholly to escheate to her Majestie, as the rest, they having in all their warres continued for the most part dutifull, though otherwise a great part thereof is now under the

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rebells, there is an abatement to be made thereout of 400. or 500. plow-lands, as I estimate the same, the which are not to pay the whole yearly rent of 40 s. out of every plow-land, like as the escheated lands doe, but yet shall pay for their composition of cesse towards the keeping of soldiers, 20 s. out of every plow-land, so as there is to bee deducted out of the former summe 200 or 300 l. yearly, the which may neverthelesse be supplied by the rent of the fishings, which are exceeding great in Ulster, and also by an increase of rent in the best lands, and those that lye in the best places neere the sea-coast. The which eighteen thousand pounds will defray the entertainment of 1500. souldiers, with some over-plus towardes the pay of the victuallers, which are to bee imployed in the victualling of these garrisons.

Eudox. So then belike you meane to leave 1500. souldiers in garrison for Ulster, to bee payde principally out of the rent of those lands, which shall be there escheated unto her Majestie. The which, where (I pray you) will you have them garrisoned?

Iren. I will have them divided into three parts, that is, 500. in every garrison, the which I will have to remaine in three of the same places, where they were before appointed, to wit, 500. at Strabane and about Loughfoile, so as they may holde all the passages of that part of the countrey, and some of them bee put in wardes, upon all the straights thereabouts, which I

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know to be such, as may stoppe all passages into the countrey on that side; and some of them also upon the Ban, up towardes Lough-Sidney, as I formerly directed. Also other 500, at the fort upon Lough-Earne, and wardes taken out of them, which shall bee layde at Fermannagh, at Bealick, at Ballyshannon, and all the streights towardes Connaght, the which I know doe so strongly command all the passages that way, as that none can passe from Ulster into Connaght, without their leave. The last 500. shall also remaine in their fort at Monoghan, and some of them bee drawne into wardes, to keepe the kaies of all that countrey, both downwards, and also towards O Relies countrie, and the pale; and some at Eniskillin, some at Belturbut, some at the Blacke Fort, and so along that river, as I formerly shewed in the first planting of them. And moreover at every of these forts, I would have the seate of a towne layde forth and incompassed, in the which I would wish that there should inhabitants of all sortes, as merchants, artificers, and husbandmen, bee placed, to whom there should charters and fraunchises be graunted to incorporate them. The which, as it wilbe no matter of difficultie to draw out of England persons which would very gladly be so placed, so would it in short space turne those parts to great commodity, and bring ere long to her Majestie much profit; for those places are fit for trade and traffick, having most convenient out-gates by divers to the sea, and in-gates to the richest parts of the land, that they would soone be enriched, and mightily

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enlarged, for the very seating of the garrisons by them; besides. the safetie and assurance which they shall worke unto them, will also draw thither store of people and trade, as I have seene ensample at Mariborogh and Philipstowne in Leinster, where by reason of these two fortes, though there be but small wardes left in them, there are two good townes now growne, which are the greatest stay of both those two countries.

Eudox. Indeed (me thinkes) three such townes as you say, would do very well in those places with the garrisons, and in short space would be so augmented, as they would bee able with little to in-wall themselves strongly; but, for the planting of all the rest of the countrey, what order would you take?

Iren. What other then (as I said) to bring people out of England, which should inhabite the same; whereunto though I doubt not but great troopes would be readie to runne, yet for that in such cases, the worst and most decayed men are most ready to remove, I would wish them rather to bee chosen out of all partes of this realme, either by discretion of wise men thereunto appointed, or by lot, or by the drumme, as was the old use in sending forth of Colonies, or such other good meanes as shall in their wisedome bee thought meetest. Amongst the chiefe of which, I would have the land sett into seigniories, in such sort as it is now in Mounster, and divided into hundreds and parishes, or wardes, as it is in England, and layde

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out into shires, as it was aunciently, *viz.* The countie of Downe, the countie of Antrim, the countie of Louth, the countie of Armaghe, the countie of Cavan, the countie of Colerane, [z] the countie of Monoghan, the countie of Tyrone, the countie of Fermannagh, the countie of Donnegall, being in all tenne. Over all which I wish a Lord President and a Councell to bee placed, which may keepe them afterwards in awe and obedience, and minister unto them iustice and equity.

Eudox. Thus I see the whole purpose of your plot for Ulster, and now I desire to heare your like opinion for Connaght.

Iren. By that which I have already said of Ulster, you may gather my opinion for Connaght, being very answereable to the former. But for that the lands, which shal therein escheat unto her Maiesty, are not so intirely together, as that they can be accompted in one summe, it needeth that they be considered severally. The province of Connaght in the whole containeth (as appeareth by the Records of Dublin) 7200 plow-lands of the former measure, and is of late divided into six shires or counties: The countie of [a] Clare,

[z] *the county of Monoghan,*] This is now part of the countie of Londonderry. SIR JAMES WARE.

[a] *The countie of Clare,*] The county of Clare was anciently accounted part of the province of Mounster, whence it hath the name of Tuomuan.

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the countie of Leytrim, the countie of Roscoman, the countie of Galway, the countie of Maio, and the countie of Sligo. Of the which all the countie of Sligo, all the countie of Maio, the most part of the countie of Roscoman, the most part of the countie of Leitrim, a great part of the countie of Galway, and some of the countie of Clare, is like to escheat to her Maiestie for the rebellion of their present possessors. The which two counties of Sligo and Maio are supposed to containe almost 3000, plow-lands, the rent whereof rateably to the former, I valew almost at 6000l. *per annum*. The countie of Roscoman, saving that which pertaineth to the house of Roscoman, and some few other English there lately seated, is all one, and therefore it is wholly likewise to escheate to her Majesty, saving those portions of English inhabitants, and even those English doe (as I understand by them) pay as much rent to her Majesty, as is set upon those in Ulster, counting their composition money therewithall, so as it may all run into one reckoning with the former two counties: So that this county of Roscoman containing 1200. plow-lands, as it is accompted, amounteth to 2400 li. by the yeare, which with the former two counties rent, maketh about 8300 l. for the former wanted somewhat. But what the escheated lands of the county of Gallway and Leitrim will rise unto, is yet uncertaine to define, till survey thereof be made, for that

or Thomond, which signifieth North Mounster, and hath at this day its peculiar governour, as being exempted from the presidences of Mounster and Connaght. Sir James Ware.

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those lands are intermingled with the Earle of Clanricardes, and other lands, but it is thought they be the one halfe of both those counties, so as they may be counted to the value of one whole county, which containeth above 1000. plough-land; for so many the least county of them all comprehendeth, which maketh 2000 li. more, that is in all ten or eleven thousand pounds. The other 2 counties must remaine till their escheates appeare, the which letting passe yet, as unknowne, yet this much is knowne to be accompted for certaine, that the composition of these two counties, being rated at 20. shil. every plow-land, will amount to above 2000 pounds more, all which being laide together to the former, may be reasonably estimated to rise unto 13000 pounds, the which summe, together with the rent of the escheated lands in the two last countyes, which cannot yet be valued, being, as I doubt not, no lesse then a thousand pounds more, will yeeld pay largely unto 1000 men and their victuallers, and 1000 pounds over towards the Governour.

Eudox. You have (me thinkes) made but an estimate of those lands of Connaght, even at a very venture, so as it should be hard to build any certainty of charge to be raised upon the same.

Iren. Not altogether upon uncertainties; for this much may easily appeare unto you to be certaine, as the composition money of every plowland amounteth unto; for this I would have you principally to under-

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stand, that my purpose is to rate all the lands in Ireland at 20 shil: every plowland, for their composition towards the garrison. The which I know, in regard of being freed from all other charges whatsoever, will be readily and most gladly yeelded unto. So that there being in all Ireland (as appeareth by their old Records) 43920 plowlands, the same shall amount to the summe likewise of 4 3920 pounds, and the rest to be reared of the escheated lands which fall to her Majesty in the said provinces of Ulster, Connaght, and that part of Leinster under the rebells; for Mounster wee deale not yet withall.

Eudox. But tell me this, by the way, doe you then lay composition upon the escheated lands as you doe upon the rest? for so (mee thinkes) you reckon alltogether. And that sure were too much to pay 7. nobles out of every plow land, and composition money besides, that is 20 shill: out of every plow land.

Iren. No, you mistake me; I doe put onely 7 nobles rent and composition both upon every plow land escheated, that is 40. shil: for composition, and 6. shil: 8. pence for cheifrie to her Majestie.

Eudox. I doe now conceive you; proceede then (I pray you) to the appointing of your garrisons in Connaght, and show us both how many and where you would have them placed.

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Iren. I would have 1000 laide in Connaght, in 2 garrisons; namely, 500 in the county of Maio, about Clan Mac Costilagh, which shall keepe all Mayo and the Bourkes of Mac William Eighter: The other 500. in the county of Galway, about Garrandough, that they may containe the Conhors and the Bourkes there, the Kellies and Murries, with all them there-abouts; for that garrison which I formerly placed at Loughearne will serve for all occasions in the county of Sligo, being neere adjoyning thereunto, so as in one nights march they maye be almost in any place thereof, when neede shall require them. And like as in the former places of garrisons in Ulster, I wished three corporate townes to be planted, which under the safeguard of that strength should dwell and trade safely with all the countrey about them; so would I also wish to be in this of Connaght: and that besides, there were another established at Athlone, with a convenient ward in the castle there for their defence.

* *Iren.* What should that neede, seeing the Governour of Connaght useth to lye there alwayes, whose presence will bee a defence to all that towneship?

Iren. I know he doth so, but that is much to be disliked, that the Governour should lye so farre of, in

* IREN.] *This inaccuracy, as well as a similar one, in page 47 of this Work, appears in the Dublin edition of Sir James Ware's Book, published in the year 1596, and has been continued through a late edition published by Todd.* EDITOR.

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the remotest place of all the province, whereas it were meeter that he should be continually abiding in the middest of the charge, that he might bothe looke out alike unto all places of his government, and also be soone at hand in any place, where occasion shall demand him; for the presence of the Governour is (as you sayd) a great stay and bridle unto those that are ill disposed: like as I see it is well observed in Mounster, where the dayly good thereof is continually apparant: and, for this cause also, doe I greatly mislike the Lord Deputies seating at Dublin, being the outest corner of the realme, and least needing the awe of his presence; whereas (me thinkes) it were fitter, since his proper care is of Leinster, though he have care of all besides generally, that he should seate himselfe at Athie, or there-abouts, upon the skirt of that unquiet countrey, so that he might sit as it were at the very maine maste of his ship, whence he might easily over looke and sometimes over-reach the Moores, the Dempsies, the Connors, O-Carroll, O-Molloy, and all that heape of Irish nations which there lye hudled together, without any to over-awe them, or containe them in dutie. For the Irishman (I assure you) feares the Government no longer then he is within sight or reach.

Eudox. Surely (me thinkes) herein you observe a matter of much importance more then I have heard ever noted, but sure that seemes so expedient, as that I wonder that heretofore it hath beene overseene or

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omitted; but I suppose the instance of the citizens of Dublin is the greatest lett thereof.

Iren. Truely then it ought not so to be; for no cause have they to feare that it will be any hinderance to them; for Dublin will bee still, as it is the key of all passages and transportations out of England thitherto, no lesse profit of those citizens then it now is, and besides other places will hereby receive some benefit: But let us now (I pray you) come to Leinster, in the which I would wish the same course to be observed, that was in Ulster.

Eudox. You meane for the leaving of the garrisons in their forts, and for planting of English in all those countryes, betweene the county of Dublin and the county of Wexford; but those waste wilde places I thinke when they are won unto her Majesty, that there is none which will be hasty to seeke to inhabite.

Iren. Yes enough, (I warrant you;) for though the whole tracke of the countrey be mountanous and woody, yet there are many goodly valleyes amongst them, fit for faire habitations, to which those mountaines adjoyned will be a great increase of pasturage; for that countrey is a great soyle of cattle, and very fit for breed: as for corne it is nothing naturall, save onely for barly and oates, and some places for rye, and therefore the larger penny-worthes may be al-

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lowed to them, though otherwise the wildnes of the mountaine pasturage doe recompence the badnes of the soyle, so as I doubt not but it will find inhabitants and undertakers enough.

Eudox. How much doe you thinke that all those lands, which Feagh Mac Hugh houldeth under him, may amount unto, and what rent may be reared thereout, to the maintenance of the garrisons that shall be laide there?

Iren. Truely it is impossible by ayme to tell it, and for experience and knowledge thereof, I doe not thinke that there was every any of the particulars thereof, but yet I will (if it please you) guesse thereat, upon ground onely of their judgement which have formerly devided all that country into 2 sheires or countyes, namely the countie of Wicklow, and the [b] county of Fernes; the which 2 I see no cause but that they should wholly escheate to her Majesty, all save the barony of Arclo which is the Earle of Ormond's auncient inheritance, and hath ever been in his possession; for all the whole land is the Queenes, unlesse there be some grant of any part thereof, to bee shewed from her Majesty: as I thinke there is onely of New Castle to Sir Henry Harrington, and of the castle of Fernes to Sir Thomas Masterson, the rest, being almost 30 miles over, I doe suppose, can containe no

[b] *County of Fernes,*] This is part of the county of Wexford.
SIR JAMES WARE.

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lesse then 2000 plowlands, which I will estimate at 4000. pounds rent, by the yeare. The rest of Leinster being 7. counties, to wit, the county of Dublin, Kildare, Caterlagh, Wexford, Kilkenny, the Kings and the Queenes county, doe contain in them 7400. plowlands, which amounteth to so many pounds for composition to the garrison, that makes in the whole 11400. pounds, which summe will yeeld pay unto 1000 souldiours, little wanting, which may be supplied out of other lands of the Cavenaghes, which are to be escheated to her Majesty for the rebellion of their possessors, though otherwise indeede they bee of her owne ancient demesne.

Eudox. It is great reason. But tell us now where you will wish those garrisons to be laide, whether altogether, or to bee dispersed in sundry places of the country?

Iren. Marry, in sundry places, *viz.* in this sort, or much the like as may be better advised, for 200. in a place I doe thinke to bee enough for the safeguard of that country, and keeping under all suddaine upstarts, that shall seeke to trouble the peace thereof; therefore I wish 200. to be laide at Ballinecor for the keeping of all bad persons from Glan-malor, and all the fastnes there-abouts, and also to containe all that shall be planted in those lands thenceforth. Another 200. at Knockelough in their former place of garrison, to keepe the Bracknagh and all those mountaines of the

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Cavenaghes; 200. more to lie at Fernes and upwards, inward upon the Slane; 200. to be placed at the fort of Leix, to restraine the Moores, Upper-Ossory, and O-Carrol; other 200. at the fort of Ofaly, to curbe the O-Connors, O-Molloyes, Mac-Coghlan, Mageoghegan, and all those Irish nations bordering there-abouts.

Eudox. Thus I see all your men bestowed in Leinster; what say you then of Meath?

Iren. Meath which containeth both East Meath and West Meath, and of late the Annaly, now called the county of Longford, is counted therunto: But Meath it selfe according to the old Records, containeth 4320. plowlands, and the county of Longford 947. which in the whole makes 5267 plowlands, of which the composition money will amount likewise to 5267 pounds to the maintenance of the garrison: But because all Meath, lying in the bosome of that kingdome is alwayes quiet enough, it is needelesse to put any garrison there, so as all that charge may be spared. But in the county of Longford I wish 200. footmen and 50. horsemen to bee placed in some convenient seate, betweene the Annaly and the Breny, as about Lough Sillon, or some like place of that river, so as they might keepe both the O-Relies, and also the O-Ferrals, and all that out-skirt of Meath, in awe, the which use upon every light occasion to be stirring, and, having continuall enmity amongst themselves,

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doe thereby oftentimes trouble all those parts, the charge whereof being 3400. and odde pounds is to be cut out of that composition money for Meath and Longford, the over-plus being almost 2000. pounds by the yeare, will come in clearly to her Majesty.

Eudox. It is worth the hearkening unto: But now that you have done with Meath, proceede (I pray you) to Mounster, that wee may see how it will rise there for the maintenance of the garrison.

Iren. Mounster containeth by Record at Dublin 16000. plow-lands, the composition whereof, as the rest, will make 16000. pounds by the yeare, out of the which I would have 1000. souldiours to be maintained for the defence of that province, the charge whereof with the victuallers wages, will amount to 1200. pounds by the yeare; the other 4000. pounds will defray the charge of the Presidency and the Councel of that province.

Eudox. The reckoning is easie, but in this accompt, by your leave, (me thinkes) you are deceived; for, in this summe of the composition money, you accompt the lands of the undertakers of that province, who are, by their graunt from the Queene, to be free from all such impositions whatsoever, excepting their onlie rent, which is surely enough.

Iren. You say true, I did so, but the same 20. shil.

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for every plowland, I meant to have deducted out of that rent due upon them to her Majesty, which is no hinderance, nor charge at all more to her Majesty then it now is; for all that rent which she receives of them, shee putteth forth againe to the maintenance of the Presidency there, the charge whereof it doth scarcely defray; whereas in this accompt both that charge of the Presidency, and also of a thousand souldiours more, shall be maintained.

Eudox. It should be well if it could be brought to that: But now where will you have your thousand men garrisoned?

Iren. I would have a hundred of them placed at the Bantry where is a most fit place, not onely to defend all that side of the west part from forraine invasion, but also to answere all occasions of troubles, to which that countrey being so remote is very subject. And surely there also would be planted a good towne, having both a good haven and a plentifull fishing, and the land being already escheated to her Majesty, but being forcibly kept from her, by one that proclaimes himselfe the bastard son of the Earle of Clancar, being called Donell Mac Carty, whom it is meete to foresee to: For whensoever the Earle shall die, all those lands (after him) are to come unto her Majesty, he is like to make a foule stirre there, though of himselfe no power, yet through supportance of some others who lye in the wind, and looke after the fall of that inhe-

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ritance. Another hundred I would have placed at Castle Mayne, which should keepe all Desmond and Kerry; for it answereth them both most conveniently: Also about Kilmore in the county of Corke would I have 2. hundred placed, the which should breake that nest of thieves there, and answere equally both to the county of Limericke, and also the county of Corke. Another hundred would I have lye at Corke, aswell to command the towne, as also to be ready for any forraine occasion: Likewise at Waterford, would I place 2. hundred, for the same reasons, and also for other privy causes, that are no lesse important: Moreover on this side of Arlo, near the Muskery Quirke, which is the countrey of the Burkes, about Kill-Patricke, I would have two hundred more to be garrisond, which should skoure both the White Knights country and Arlo, and Muskery Quirk, by which places all the passages of theives doe lye, which convey their stealth from all Mounster downewards towards Tipperary, and the English Pale, and from the English Pale also up unto Mounster, whereof they use to make a common trade: Besides that, ere long I doubt that the county of Tipperary it selfe will neede such a strength in it, which were good to be there ready before the evill fall, that is dayly of some expected: And thus you see all your garrisons placed.

Eudox. I see it right well, but let me (I pray you) by the way aske you the reason, why in those citties of Mounster, namely Waterford and Corke, you rather

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placed garrisons, then in all others in Ireland? For they may thinke themselves to have great wrong to bee so charged above all the rest.

Iren. I will tell you; those two citties above all the rest, do offer an in-gate to the Spaniard most fitly: But yet because they shall not take exceptions to this, that they are charged above all the rest, I will also lay a charge upon the others likewise; for indeed it is no reason that the corporate townes enjoying great franchizes and privileges from her Majesty, and living thereby not onely safe, but drawing to them the wealth of all the land, should live so free, as not to be partakers of the burthen of this garrison for their owne safety, specially in this time of trouble, and seeing all the rest burthened; (and therefore) I will thus charge them all ratably, according to their abilities, towards their maintenance, the which her Majesty may (if she please) spare out of the charge of the rest, and reserve towards her other costes, or else adde to the charge of the Presidency in the North.

Waterford	C.	Clonmell	X.	Dundalke	X.
Corke	L.	Cashell	X.	Mollingare	X.
Limericke	L.	Fedard	X.	Newrie	X.
Galway	L.	Kilkenny	XXV.	Trim	X.
Dinglecush	X.	Wexford	XXV.	Ardee	X.
Kinsale	X.	Tredah	XXV.	Kells	X.
Yoghall	X.	Ross	XXV.	Dublin	C.
Kilmallock	X.				

In all 580.

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Eudox. It is easie, Irenæus, to lay a charge upon any towne, but to foresee how the same may be answered and defrayed, is the cheife part of good advisement.

Iren. Surely this charge which I put upon them, I know to bee so reasonable, as that it will not much be felt; for the port townes that have benefit of shipping may cut it easily off their trading, and inland townes of their corne and cattle; neither do I see, but since to them especially the benefit of peace doth redound, that they especially should beare the burthen of their safeguard and defence, as wee see all the townes of the Low-Countryes, doe cut upon themselves an excise of all things towards the maintenance of the warre that is made in their behalfe, to which though these are not to be compared in richesse, yet are they to bee charged according to their povertie.

Eudox. But now that you have thus set up these forces of soldiers, and provided well (as you suppose) for their pay, yet there remaineth to fore-cast how they may bee victualled, and where purveyance thereof may bee made; for, in Ireland it selfe, I cannot see almost how any thing is to bee had for them, being already so pittifully wasted, as it is with this short time of warre.

Iren. For the first two yeares, it is needefull indeede that they bee victualled out of England thoroughly, from halfe yeare to halfe yeare, afore-hand. All which

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time the English Pale shall not bee burdened at all, but shall have time to recover themselves; and Mounster also, being reasonably well stored, will by that time, (if God send seasonable weather,) bee thoroughly well furnished to supply a great part of that charge, for I knowe there is a great plenty of corne sent over sea from thence, the which if they might have sale for at home, they would bee glad to have money so neere hand, specially if they were streightly restrayned from transporting of it. Thereunto also there will bee a great helpe and furtherance given, in the putting forward of husbandrie in all meete places, as hereafter shall in due place appeare. But hereafter when things shall growe unto a better strength, and the countrey be replenished with corne, as in short space it will, if it bee well followed, for the countrey people themselves are great plowers, and small spenders of corne, then would I wish that there should bee good store of houses and magazins erected in all those great places of garrison, and in all great townes, as well for the victualling of souldiers, and shippes, as for all occasions of suddaine services, as also for preventing of all times of dearth and scarcitie; and this want is much to bee complained of in England, above all other countreys, who, trusting too much to the usuall blessing of the earth, doe never fore-cast any such hard seasons, nor any such suddaine occasions as these troublous times may every day bring fourth, when it will bee too late to gather provision from abroad, and to bringe it perhappes from farre for

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the furnishing of shippes or souldiers, which peradventure may neede to bee presently imployed and whose want may (which God forbid) hap to hazard a kingdome.

Eudox. Indeede the want of those magazins of victualls, I have oftentimes complayned of in England, and wondered at in other countreyes, but that is nothing now to our purpose; but as for these garrisons which you have now so strongly planted throghout all Ireland, and every place swarming with souldiers, shall there bee no end of them? For now thus being (me thinkes) I doe see rather a countrey of warre, then of peace and quiet, which you earst pretended to worke in Ireland; for if you bring all things to that quietnesse that you said, what then needeth to maintaine so great forces, as you have charged upon it?

Iren. I will unto you Eudox. in privitie discover the drift of my purpose: I meane (as I tolde you) and doe well hope thereby both to settle an eternall peace in that countrey, and also to make it very profitable to her Majestie, the which I see must bee brought in with a strong hand, and so continued, till it runne in a steadfast course of governement, which in this sort will neither bee difficult nor dangerous; for the souldier being once brought in for the service into Ulster, and having subdued it and Connaght, I will not have him to lay downe his armes any more, till hee have effected that which I purpose, that is, first to have

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this generall composition for maintenance of these thoroughout all the realme, in regard of the troublous times, and daylie danger which is threatned to this realme by the King of Spaine: And thereupon to bestow all my souldiers in such sort as I have done, that no part of all that realme shall be able to dare to [b] quinch: Then will I eftsoones bring in my reformation, and thereupon establish such a forme of governement, as I may thinke meetest for the good of that realme, which being once settled, and all things put into a right way, I doubt not but they will runne on fairely. And though they would ever seeke to swerve aside, yet shall they not bee able without forreine violence, once to remoove, as you your selfe shall soone (I hope) in your own reason readily conceive; which if it shall ever appeare, then may her Majestie at pleasure with-draw some of the garrisons, and turne their pay into her purse, or if shee will never please so to doe (which I would rather wish) then shall shee have a number of brave olde souldiers alwayes ready for any occasion that shee will imploy them unto, supplying their garrisons with fresh ones in their steed; the maintenance of whome, shall bee no more charge to her Majestie then now that realme is for all the revenue thereof; and much more shee spendeth, even in the most peaceable times, that are there, as things now stand. And in time of warre, which is now surely every seventh yeare, shee spendeth infinite treasure besides, to small purpose.

[b] *quinch.*] *Stir.* JOHNSON.

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Eudox. I perceive your purpose; but now that you have thus strongly made way unto your reformation, and that I see the people so humbled and prepared, that they will and must yeeld to any ordinance that shall bee given them, I doe much desire to understand the same; for in the beginning you promised to shewe a meanes how to redresse all those inconveniences and abuses, which you shewed to bee in that state of government, which now stands there, as in the lawes, customs, and religion, wherein I would gladly know first, whether, in steed of those lawes, you would have new lawes made; for now, for ought that I see, you may doe what you please.

Iren. I see Eudox. that you well remember our first purpose, and doe rightly continue the course thereof. First therefore to speake of lawes, since wee first beganne with them, I doe not thinke it now convenient, though it bee in the power of the Prince to change all the lawes and make new; for that should breede a great trouble and confusion, aswell in the English there dwelling, and to be planted, as also in the Irish. For the English having beene alwayes trayned up in the English governement, will hardly bee inured to any other, and the Irish will better be drawne to the English then the English to the Irish government. Therefore sithence wee cannot now apply lawes fit to the people, as in the first institutions of common-wealths it ought to bee, wee will apply the people, and fit them unto the lawes, as it most con-

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veniently may bee. The lawes therefore wee resolve shall abide in the same sort that they doe, both Common Law and Statutes, onely such defects in the Common-law, and inconveniences in the Statutes, as in the beginning wee noted, and as men of deeper insight shall advise, may be changed by some other new acts and ordinances to bee by Parliament there confirmed: As those for tryalls of Pleas of the Crowne, and private rights betweene parties, colourable conveyances, and accessaries.

Eudox. But how will those be redressed by Parlament, when as the Irish which sway most in Parlament (as you said) shall oppose themselves against them?

Iren. That may well now be avoyded: For now that so many Free-holders of English shall bee established, they together with Burgesses of townes, and such other loyal Irish-men, as may bee preferred to bee Knights of the shire, and such like, will bee able to beard and to counter-poise the rest, who also, being now more brought in awe, will the more easily submit to any such ordinances as shall bee for the good of themselves, and that realme generally.

Eudox. You say well, for by the increase of Free-holders their numbers hereby will be greatly augmented; but how should it passe through the higher house, which still must consiste all of Irish?

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Iren. Marry, that also may bee redressed by ensample of that which I have heard was done in the like case by King Edward the Third (as I remember) who being greatly bearded and crossed by the Lords of the Cleargie, they being there by reason of the Lords Abbots, and others, too many and too strong for him, so as hee could not for their frowardnesse order and reforme things as hee desired, was advised to direct out his writts to certaine Gentlemen of the best ability and trust, entitling them therein Barons, to serve and sitt as Barons in the next Parlament. By which meanes hee had so many Barons in his Parlament, as were able to weigh downe the Cleargy and their friends: The which Barons they say, were not afterwardes Lords, but onely Baronets, as sundry of them doe yet retayne the name. And by the like device her Maiestie may now likewise curbe and cut short those Irish and unruly Lords, that hinder all good proceedings.

Eudox. It seemes no lesse then for reforming of all those inconvenient statutes that you noted in the beginning, and redressing of all those evill customes; and lastly, for settling of sound religion amongst them, me thinkes you shall not neede any more to over-goe those particulars againe, which you mentioned, nor any other which might besides be remembred, but to leave all to the reformation of such a Parlament, in which, by the good care of the Lord

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Deputie and Councell they may all be amended. Therfore now you may come unto that generall reformation which you spake of, and bringing in of that establishment, by which you said all men should be contained in duty ever after, without the terror of warlike forces, or violent wresting of things by sharpe punishments.

Iren. I will so at your pleasure, the which (me thinkes) can by no meanes be better plotted then by ensample of such other realmes as have beene annoyed with like evills, that Ireland now is, and useth still to bee. And first in this our realme of England, it is manifest by report of the Chronicles, and auncient writers, that it was greatly infested with robbers and out-lawes, which, lurking in woods and fast places, used often to breake foorth into the highwayes, and sometimes into small villages to rob and spoyle. For redresse whereof it is written, that King Alured, or Aldred, did[c] divide the realme into shires, and the shires into hundreds, and the hundreds into lathes or wapentackes, and the wapentackes into tythings: So that tenne tythings make an hundred, and five made a lathe or wapentake, of which tenne, each one was bound for another, and the eldest or best of them, whom they called the Tythingman or Borsolder, that is, the eldest pledge became surety for all the rest.

[c] *divide the realm into shires.*] De his qui plura scire avet, consulat D. Hen. Spelmanni eq. aur. Archeologum, in Borsholder & Hundred. Sir James Ware.

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So that if any one of them did start into any unduti-ful action, the Borsolder was bound to bring him forth, when, joyning eft-soones with all his tything, would follow that loose person thorough all places, till they brought him in. And if all that tything fayled, then all that lathe was charged for that tything, and if that lathe fayled, then all that hundred was demaunded for them; and if the hundred, then the shire, who, joyning eft-soones together, would not rest till they had found out and delivered in that unduti-full fellow, which was not amesnable to law. And herein it seemes, that that good Saxon King followed the Counsell of Iethro to Moyses, who advised him to divide the people into hundreds, and to set Captaines and wise men of trust over them, who should take the charge of them, and ease of that burthen. And so did Romulus (as you may read) [1] divide the Romanes into tribes, and the tribes into centuries or hundreths. By this ordinance, this King brought this realme of England, (which before was most troublesome,) unto that quiet state, that no one bad person could stirre but he was straight taken holde of by those of his owne tything, and their Borsholder, who being his neighbor or next kinsman were privie to all his wayes, and looked narrowly into his life.

[1] *divide 'the Romdnes into tribes,*] Livie speaking of Romulus hath it thus, Populum in curias 30. divisit, &c. Eodem tempore & centuriæ tres equitum conscriptæ sunt. And so we have it in Sextus Aurel. Victor's booke, de viris illustribus urbis Romæ. Tres equitum centurias instituit (saith he) Plebem in triginta curias distribuit. Sir James Ware.

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The which institution (if it were observed in Ireland) would worke that effect which it did in England, and keep all men within the compasse of dutie and obedience.

Eudox. This is contrary to that you said before; for as I remember, you said, that there was a great disproportion betweene England and Ireland, so as the lawes which were fitting for one, would not fit the other. How comes it now then that you would transferre a principall institution from England to Ireland?

Iren. This law was not made by the Norman Conqueror, but by a Saxon King, at what time England was very like to Ireland, as now it stands: for it was (as I tolde you) annoyed greatly with robbers and out-lawes, which troubled the whole state of the realme, every corner having a Robin Hood in it, that kept the woods, that spoyled all passengers and inhabitants, as Ireland now hath; so as, me thinkes, this ordinance would fit very well, and bring them all into awe.

Eudox. Then when you have thus tythed the communalty, as you say, and set Borsolders over them all, what would you doe when you came to the gentlemen? would you holde the same course?

Iren. Yea, marry, most especially; for this you must know, that all the Irish almost boast themselves to be gentlemen, no lesse then the Welsh; for if he can

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derive himselfe from the head of any sept, (as most of them can, they are so expert by their Bardes,) then hee holdeth himselfe a gentleman, and thereupon scorneth to worke, or use any hard labour, which hee saith, is the life of a peasant or churle; but thenceforth becommeth either an horse-boy, [e] or a stocah to some kerne, inuring himselfe to his weapon, and to the gentlemanly trade of stealing, (as they count it.) So that if a gentleman, or any wealthy man yeoman of them, have any children, the eldest of them perhaps shall be kept in some order, but all the rest shall shift for themselves, and fall to this occupation. And moreover it is a common use amongst some of their gentlemens sonnes, that so soone as they are able to use their weapons, they straight gather to themselves three or foure straglers, or kearne, with whom wandring a while up and downe idely the countrey, taking onely meate, hee at last falleth unto some bad occasion that shall be offered, which being once made known, hee is thenceforth counted a man of worth, in whome there is courage; whereupon there draw to him many other like loose young men, which, stirring him up with incouragement, provoke him shortly to flat rebellion; and this happens not onely sometimes

[e] *or a* stocah *to some kerne,*] The word *stocah*, as Dr. Johnson observes is probably from the Erse *stochk*; but it is hardly used by Spenser in the sense of "one who runs at a horseman's foot, or of a horseboy," as the context clearly proves; it may be in that of "an attendant or wallet-boy." So before: "The strength of all that nation, is the kerne, gallo-glasse, *stocah*, horseman, and horseboy, &c." Where the distinction is again preserved. TODD.

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in the sonnes of their gentle-men, but also of their noble-men, specially of them who have base sonnes. For they are not onely not ashamed to acknowledge them, but also boaste of them, and use them to such secret services, as they themselves will not be seene in, as to plague their enemyes, to spoyle their neighbours, to oppresse and crush some of their owne too stubburne free-holders, which are not tractable to their wills.

Eudox. Then it seemeth that this ordinance of tithing them by the pole, is not onely fit for the gentle-men, but also for the noble-men, whom I would have thought to be of so honourable a mind, as that they should not neede such a kinde of being bound to their allegiance, who should rather have held in and stayde all the other from undutifulnesse, then neede to bee forced thereunto themselves.

Iren. Yet so it is, Eudoxus; but because that noble men cannot be tythed, there being not many tythings of them, and also because a Borsolder over them should be not onely a great indignitie, but also a danger to adde more power to them then they have, or to make one the commander of tenne, I holde it meeter that there were onely sureties taken of them, and one bound for another, whereby, if any shall swerve, his sureties shall for safeguard of their bonds either bring him in, or seeke to serve upon him; and besides this, I would wish them all to bee sworne to her Majestie, which they never yet were, but at the first creation; and that

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oath would sure contayne them greatly, or the breach of it bring them to shorther vengeance, for God useth to punish perjurie sharpely: So I reade, that there was a corporall oath taken in the raignes of [f] Edward the Second, and of [g] Henry the Seventh, (when the times were very broken) of all the lords and best gentle-men, of fealtie to the Kings, which now is no lesse needfull, because many of them are suspected to have taken an other oath privily to some bad purposes, and thereupon to have received the Sacrament, and beene sworne to a priest, which they thinke bindeth them more then their alleagiance to their Prince, or love of their countrey.

Eudox. This tything to the common-people, and taking sureties of lords and gentlemen, I like very well, but that it wilbe very troublesome; should it not be as well for to have them all booked, and the lords and gentle-men to take all the meaner sort upon themselves? for they are best able to bring them in, whensoever any of them sarteth out.

Iren. This indeed (Eudoxus) hath beene hitherto, and yet is a common order amongst them, to have

[f] *Edward the Second,*] Richard the Second. SIR JAMES WARE.

[g] *Henry the Seventh,*] The service was performed by Sir Richard Edgecombe, being appointed thereunto by a speciall commission from K. Henry the Seventh. There is yet extant an exact diary of all his proceedings therein, from his first landing at Kinsale the 27th of June 1488, till his departure from Dublin the 30th of July next. SIR JAMES WARE.

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all the people booked by the lords and gentlemen; but yet the worst order that ever was devised; for, by this booking of men, all the inferiour sort are brought under the command of their lords, and forced to follow them into any action whatsoever. Now this you are to understand, that all the rebellions which you see from time to time happen in Ireland, are not begun by the common people, but by the lords and captaines of countries, upon pride or wilfull obstinacy against the government, which whensoever they will enter into, they drawe with them all their people and followers, which thinke themselves bound to goe with them, because they have booked them and undertaken for them. And this is the reason that in England you have such few bad occasions, by reason that the noble men, however they should happen to be evill disposed, have no commaund at all over the communalty, though dwelling under them, because that every man standeth upon himselfe, and buildeth his fortunes upon his owne faith and firme assurance: The which this manner of tything the poles will worke also in Ireland. For by this the people are broken into small parts like little streames, that they cannot easily come together into one head, which is the principall regard that is to be had in Ireland, to keepe them from growing unto such a head, and adhering unto great men.

Eudox. But yet I cannot see how this can bee well brought, without doing great wrong unto the noble men there; for, at the first conquest of that realme,

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those great seigniories and lordships were given them by the King, that they should bee the stronger against the Irish, by the multitudes of followers and tennants under them: all which hold their tenements of them by fealty, and such services, whereby they are (by the first graunt of the King) made bounden unto them, and tyed to rise out with them into all occasions of service. And this I have often heard, that when the Lord Deputy hath raised any generall hostings, the noble men have claimed the leading of them, by graunt from the Kings of England, under the Greate Seal exhibited; so as the Deputies could not refuse them to have the leading of them, or, if they did, they would so worke, as none of their followers should rise forth to the hostage.

Iren. You say true; but will you see the fruite of those grants? I have knowne when those lords have had the leading of their owne followers under them to the generall hostings, that they have for the same cut upon every plowland within their country 40. shil. or more, whereby some of them have gathered above seven or eight hundred pounds, and others much more into their purse, in lieu whereof they have gathered unto themselves a number of loose kearne out of all parts, which they have carried forth with them, to whom they never gave any penny of entertainment, allowed by the countrey or forced by them, but let them feede upon the countryes, and extort upon all men where they come; for that people will never aske

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better entertainement then to have a colour of service or imployment given them, by which they will pole and spoyle so outragiously, as the very enemy cannot doe much worse: and they also sometimes turne to the enemy.

Eudox. It seemes the first intent of those graunts was against the Irish, which now some of them use against the Queene her selfe: But now what remedy is there for this? or how can those graunts of the Kings be avoyded, without wronging of those lords, which had those lands and lordships given them?

Iren. Surely they may be well enough; for most of those lords, since their first graunts from the Kings by which those lands were given them, have sithence bestowed the most part of them amongst their kinsfolke, as every lord perhaps hath given in his time one or other of his principall castles to his younger sonne, and other to others, as largely and as amply as they were given to him, and others they have sold, and others they have bought, which were not in their first graunt, which now neverthelesse they bring within the compasse thereof, and take and exact upon them, as upon their first demeasnes all those kinde of services, yea and the very wild exactions, [h] Coignie, Livery, Sorehon, and such like,

[h] *Coignie, Livery, Sorehon,*] What Coigny and Livery doe signifie, has been already expressed. Sorehon was a tax laide upon the free-holders, for

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by which they pole and utterly undoe the poore tenants and free-houlders unto them, which either thorough ignorance know not their tenures, or through greatnes of their new lords dare not challenge them; yea, and some lords of countryes also, as great ones as themselves, are now by strong hand brought under them, and made their vassals. As for example Arundell of the Stronde in the County of Corke, who was aunciently a great lord, and was able to spend 3500. pounds by the yeare, as appeareth by good recordes, is now become the Lord Barries man, and doth to him all those services, which are due unto her Majesty. For reformation of all which, I wish that there were a commission graunted forth under the Great Seale, as I have seene one recorded in the old counsell booke of Mounster, that was sent forth, in the time of Sir William Drurie, unto persons of speciall trust and judgement to inquire thoroughout all Ireland, beginning with one county first, and so resting a while till the same were settled, by the verdict of a sound and substantiall iury, how every man houldeth his land, of whom, and by what tenure, so that every one should be admitted to shew and exhibite what right he hath, and by what services hee houldeth his land, whether in cheife or in soccage, or by knights service, or how else soever. Thereupon would appeare, first how all those great

certaine dayes in each quarter of a yeare, to finde victualls, and lodging, and to pay certaine stipends to the kerne, galloglasses, and horsemen.

Sir James Ware.

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English lords doe claime those great services, what seigniories they usurpe, what wardships they take from the Queene, what lands of hers they conceale: And then, how those Irish captaines of countryes have incroached upon the Queenes free-holders and tennants, how they have translated the tenures of them from English houlding unto Irish Tanistry, and defeated her Majesty of all her rights and dutyes, which are to acrew to her thereout, as wardships, liveries, marriages, fines of alienations, and many other commodities; which now are kept and concealed from her Majesty, to the value of 4000. pounds *per annum*, I dare undertake in all Ireland, by that which I know in one county.

Eudox. This, Irenæus, would seeme a dangerous commission, and ready to stirre up all the Irish in rebellion, who knowing that they have nothing to shew for all those lands which they hould, but their swords, would rather drawe them then suffer the lands to bee thus drawne away from them.

Iren. Neither should their lands be taken away from them, nor the utmost advantages inforced against them: But this by discretion of the commissioners should be made knowne unto them, that it is not her Majesties meaning to use any such extreamity, but onely to reduce things into order of English law, and make them hould their lands of her, and to restore to her her due services, which they detaine out of those

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lands, which were aunciently held of her. And that they should not onely not be thrust out, but also have estates and grants of their lands new made to them from her Majesty, so as they should thence-forth hould them rightfully, which they now usurpe wrongfully; and yet withall I would wish, that in all those Irish countryes there were some land reserved to her Majesties free disposition for the better containing of the rest, and intermingling them with English inhabitants and customes, that knowledge might still be had of them, and of all their doings, so as no manner of practise or conspiracy should be had in hand amongst them, but notice should bee given thereof by one meanes or another, and their practises prevented.

Eudox. Truely neither can the Irish, nor yet the English lords, thinke themselves wronged, nor hardly dealt withall herein, to have that which is indeede none of their owne at all, but her Majesties absolutely, given to them with such equall conditions, as that both they may be assured thereof, better then they are, and also her Majesty not defrauded of her right utterly; for it is a great grace in a prince, to take that with conditions, which is absolutely her owne. Thus shall the Irish be well satisfied, and as for the great men which had such graunts made to them at first by the Kings of England, it was in regard that they should keepe forth the Irish, and defend the Kings right, and his subjects: but now seeing that, in stead of defending them, they robbe and spoyle them, and, in stead of keeping

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out the Irish, they doe not onely make the Irish their tennants in those lands, and thrust out the English, but also some of themselves become meere Irish, with marrying with them, with fostering with them, and combyning with them against the Queene; what reason is there but that those graunts and priviledges should bee either revoked, or at least reduced to the first intention for which they were gruanted? for sure in mine opinion they are more sharpely to bee chastised and reformed then the rude Irish, which, being very wilde at the first, are now become more civill; when as these, from civillity, are growne to be wilde and meere Irish.

Iren. Indeede as you say, Eudoxus, these doe neede a sharper reformation then the Irish, for they are more stubborne, and disobedient to law and governement, [1] then the Irish be.

Eudox. In truth, Irenæus, this is more then ever I heard, that any English there should bee worse then the Irish: Lord, how quickely doth that countrey alter mens natures! It is not for nothing (I perceive) which I have heard, that the Councell of England thinke it no good policie to have that realme reformed, or planted with English, least they should

[1] *then the Irish be.*] In the manuscript belonging to the Marquis of Stafford, there follow two very severe paragraphs. I prefer the text of Sir James Ware, who professes to follow the *best*, that is, I presume, a *corrected*, manuscript. TODD.

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grow so undutifull as the Irish, and become much more dangerous: As appeareth by the ensamples of the Lacies in the time of Edward the Second, which you spake of, that shooke off their allegiance to their naturall Prince, and turned to Edward le Bruce, to make him King of Ireland.

Iren. No times have beene without bad men: But as for that purpose of the Councell of England which you spake of, that they should keepe that realme from reformation, I thinke they are most lewdly abused; for their great carefulnesse, and earnest endeavours, doe witnesse the contrary. Neither is it the nature of the countrey to alter mens manners, but the bad mindes of the men, who having beene brought up at home under a straight rule of duty and obedience, being alwayes restrayned by sharpe penalties from lewde behaviour, so soone as they come thither, where they see lawes more slackely tended, and the hard restraint which they were used unto now slacked, they grow more loose and carelesse of their duty: and as it is the nature of all men to love liberty, so they become flat libertines, and fall to all licentiousnes, more boldly daring to disobey the law, thorough the presumption of favour and friendship, then any Irish dareth.

Eudox. Then if that be so, (me thinkes) your late advisement was very evill, whereby you wished the Irish to be sowed and sprinckled with English,

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and in all the Irish countryes to have English planted amongst them, for to bring them to English fashions, since the English sooner drawe to the Irish then the Irish to the English: For as you said before, if they must runne with the streame, the greater number will carry away the lesse: Therefore (me thinkes) by this reason it should bee better to part the Irish and English, then to mingle them together.

Iren. Not so, Eudoxus; for where there is no good stay of government, and strong ordinances to hould them, there indeede the fewer follow the more, but where there is due order of discipline and good rule, there the better shall goe foremost, and the worst shall follow. And therefore now, since Ireland is full of her owne nation, that ought not to be rooted out, and somewhat stored with English already, and more to be, I thinke it best by an union of manners, and conformity of mindes, to bring them to be one people, and to put away the dislikefull conceipt both of the one, and the other, which will be by no meanes better then by this intermingling of them: For neither all the Irish may dwell together, nor all the English, but by translating of them and scattering them amongst the English, not onely to bring them by dayly conversation unto better liking of each other, but also to make both of them lesse able to hurt. And therefore when I come to the tything of them, I will tithe them one with another, and for the most part will make an Irish man the tything-man, whereby he

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shall take the lesse exception to partiality, and yet be the more tyed thereby. But when I come to the Head Borough, which is the head of the lathe, him will I make an English man, or an Irish man of speciall assurance: As also when I come to appoint the Alderman, that is the head of the hundreth, him will I surely choose to be an English man of speciall regard, that may be a stay and pillar of all the borough under him.

Eudox. What doe you meane by your hundred, and what by your borough? By that, that I have read in auncient records of England, an hundred did containe an hundreth villages, or as some say an hundred plough-lands, being the same which the Saxons called [k] Cantred; the which cantred, as I finde it re-

[k] *Cantred;*] Cantred is a Brittish word, answering to the Saxon Hundreb. How much land a cantred containeth, is variously delivered. Some hould that it containes 100 townes. So Gir. Barry or Cambrensis, in his Itinerary of Wales, (lib. 2. cap. 7.) "Dicitur autem cantredus, (saith he) composito vocabulo tam Britannica quam Hibernica lingua, tanta terra portio, quanta 100. villas continere solet." The author here cites a record which makes it containe but 30. towne-lands: and Iohn Clynn, (if my copy therein be not mistaken) hath but 20. But another more auncient MS. sometime belonging to the Friars Minors of Multifernan, hath 30. "Quælibet cantreda (saith Clinne) continet xx. (al. xxx.) villatas terræ, quælibet villata potest sustinere 300 vaccas in pascuis, ita quod vaccæ in X. (al. 1111.) partes divisa, nulla alteri appropinquabit, quælibet villata continet viii. carucatas." We finde also there the provinces of Ireland thus divided into cantreds. Ultonia continet 35. cantredas, Conacia 30. Lagenia 31. Midia 18. & Momonia 70. See more concerning cantreds in Sir Hen. Spelmann's excellent Glossary. As cantreds are diversly estimated, so are also carues or plowlands. Sir James Ware.

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corded in the blacke booke of [the Exchequer of] Ireland, did contain xxx. Villatas terræ, which some call, quarters of land, and every Villata can maintaine 400 cowes in pasture, and the 400. cowes to be divided into 4. heards, so as none of them shall come neere other: every Villata containing 18. plowlands, as is there set downe: And by that which I have read of a borough it signifieth a free towne, which had a principall officer, called a head-borough, to become ruler, and undertake for all the dwellers under him, having, for the same, franchises and priviledges graunted them by the King, whereof it was called a free borough, and of the lawyers *franci-plegium*.

Iren. Both that which you said, Eudoxus, is true, and yet that which I say not untrue; for that which you spake of deviding the countrey into hundreds, was a devision of the lands of the realme, but this which I tell, was of the people, which were thus devided by the pole: so that hundreth in this sense signifieth a 100. pledges, which were under the command and assurance of their alderman, the which (as I suppose) was also called a wapentake, so named of touching the weapon or speare of their alderman, and swearing to follow him faithfully, and serve their Prince truly. But others thinke that a wapentake was 10. hundreds or boroughs: Likewise a borogh, as I here use it, and as the old lawes still use, is not a borough towne, as they now call it, that is a fran-

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chised towne, but a maine pledge of 100. free persons, therefore called a free borough or (as you say) *franci-plegium:* For Borh in old Saxon signifieth a pledge or surety, and yet it is so used with us in some speeches, as Chaucer saith; St. John[1] to *borrow*, that is for assurance and warranty.

Eudox. I conceive the difference: But now that you have thus devided the people into these tythings and hundreths, how will you have them so preserved and continued? for people doe often change their dwelling places, and some must die, whilst other some doe growe up into strength of yeares, and become men.

Iren. These hundreds I would wish to assemble themselves once every yeare with their pledges, and to present themselves before the iustices of the peace, which shall bee thereunto appointed, to bee surveyed and numbred, to see what change hath happened since the yeare before; and, the defects to supplie, of young plants late growne up, the which are diligently to bee overlooked and viewed of what condition and demeanour they be, so as pledges may bee taken for them, and they put into order of some tything; of all which alterations note is to be taken, and bookes made thereof accordingly.

[1] *to borrow,*] Spenser uses the word in the same sense in his *Shepheards Calender.* TODD.

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Eudox. Now (mee thinkes) Irenæus, your are to be warned to take heede lest unawares you fall into that inconvenience which you formerly found fault with in others: namely, that by this booking of them, you doe not gather them into a new head, and, having broken their former strength, doe not unite them more strongly againe: For every alderman, having all these free pledges of his hundred under his command, may (me thinkes) if hee be evill disposed drawne all his companie into an evill action. And likewise, by this assembling of them once a yeare unto their alderman by their weapentakes, take heede lest you also give them occasion and meanes to practise together in any conspiracyes.

Iren. Neither of both is to be doubted; for their aldermen and headboroughs, will not be such men of power and countenance of themselves, being to be chosen thereunto, as neede to be feared: Neither if hee were, is his hundred at his commaund, further then his Princes service; and also every tything man may controll him in such a case. And as for the assembling of the hundred, much lesse is any danger thereof to be doubted, seeing it is before some iustice of the peace, or some high constable to bee thereunto appointed: So as of these tythings there can no perill ensue, but a certaine assurance of peace and great good; for they are thereby withdrawne from their lords, and subjected to the Prince: Moreover for the better breaking of these heads and septs, which (I

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told you) was one of the greatest strengthes of the Irish, me thinkes it should bee very well to renewe that ould statute, which was made [m] in the raigne of Edward the Fourth in Ireland, by which it was commaunded, that whereas all [n] men then used to be called by the name of their septs, according to the severall nations, and had no surnames at all, that from henceforth each one should take upon himselfe a severall surname, either of his trade and facultie, or of some quality of his body or minde, or of the place where he dwelt, so as every one should be distinguished from the other, or from the most part, wherby they shall not onely not depend upon the head of their sept, as now they do, but also in time learne quite to forget his Irish nation. And herewithall would I also wish all the O's and the Mac's, which the heads of septs have taken to their names, to bee utterly forbidden and extinguished. For that the same being an ordinance (as some say) first made by [o] O Brien for

[m] *in the raigne of Edward*] An. 5. Edw. 4. SIR JAMES WARE.

[n] *all men*] The statute referres onely to the Irish, dwelling among the English in the counties of Dublin, Moth, Uriel, and Kildare. Uriel, called also Ergallia, did anciently comprehend all chat countrey which is now divided into the counties of Louth and Monoghan, although it may be conceived, that Louth was onely intended by the statute, because Monoghan was then (in a manner) wholly possessed by the Irish.

SIR JAMES WARE.

[o] *O Brien*] The custome of prefixing the vowell O to many of the chiefe Irish surnames, began soon after the yeere M. in the raigne of Brien Boroma (the son of Kennethy) king of Ireland. As for Mac in surnames,

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the strengthning of the Irish, the abrogating thereof will asmuch enfeeble them.

Eudox. I like this ordinance very well; but now that you have thus divided and distinguished them, what other order will you take for their [p] manner of life?

Iren. The next thing that I will doe, shalbe to appoint to every one that is not able to live of his free-holde, a certaine trade of life, to which he shall finde himselfe fittest, and shalbe thought ablest, the which trade hee shalbe bound to follow, and live onely thereupon. All trades therefore are to be understood to be of three kindes, manuall, intellectuall, and mixed. The first containeth all such as needeth exercise of bodily labour, to the performance of their profession. The second consisting only of the exercise of wit and reason. The third sort, part of bodily labor, and part of the wit, but depending most of industrie and carefulnes. Of the first sort be all handycrafts and husbandry labour. Of the second be all sciences, and those which be called liberall arts.

it beareth no other signification, then Fitz doth among the French, and (from them) the English; and Ap with the Welsh. And although it were more anciently used then the other, yet it varied according to the fathers name, and became not so soone fully settled in families.

Sir James Ware.

[p] *manner of life?*] Another severe remark here follows in the manuscript mentioned in p. 237. Todd.

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Of the third is merchandize and chafferie, that is, buying and selling; and without all these three, there is no common-wealth can almost consit, or at the least be perfect. But the realme of Ireland wanteth the most principall of them, that is, the intellectuall; therfore in seeking to reforme her state, it is specially to be looked unto. But because by husbandry, which supplyeth unto us all things necessary for food, wherby we chiefly live; therefore it is first to be provided for. The first thing therefore that wee are to draw these new tythed men into, ought to be husbandry. First, because it is the most easie to be learned, needing onely the labour of the body. Next, because it is most generall and most needful; then because it is most naturall; and lastly, because it is most enemy to warre, and most hateth unquietnes: As the Poet faith,

—— " bella execrata colonis:"

for husbandry being the nurse of thrift, and the daughter of industrie and labour, detesteth all that may worke her scathe, and destroy the travaile of her hands, whose hope is all her lives comfort unto the plough: therefore are those Kearne, Stocaghes, and Horse-boyes, to bee driven and made to imploy that ablenesse of bodie, which they were wont to use to theft and villainy, hencefoorth to labour and industry. In the which, by that time they have spent but a little paine, they will finde such sweetenesse and happy contentment, that they will afterwardes hardly bee haled away from it, or drawne to their

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wonted lewde life in theeverie and roguerie. And being once thus inured thereunto, they are not onely to bee countenanced and encouraged by all good meanes, but also provided that their children after them may be brought up likewise in the same, and succeede in the roomes of their fathers. To which end ¶ there is a Statute in Ireland already well provided, which commaundeth that all the sonnes of husbandmen shall be trained up in their fathers trades, but it is (God wot) very slenderly executed.

Eudox. But doe you not count, in this trade of husbandry, pasturing of cattle, and keeping of their cowes? for that is reckoned as a part of husbandrie.

Iren. I know it is, and needefully to bee used, but I doe not meane to allow any of those able bodies, which are able to use bodily labour, to follow a few cowes grazeing. But such impotent persons, as being unable for strong travaile, are yet able to drive cattle to and fro to their pasture; for this keeping of cowes is of it selfe a very idle life, and a fit nurserie for a thiefe. For which cause (you remember) I disliked the Irish manner of keeping Boolies in Summer upon the mountaines, and living after that savage sort. But if they will algates feede many cattle, or keepe them on the mountaines, let them make some townes neare to the mountaines side, where they may dwell

¶ *there is a Statute*] Anno 25° Hen. 6. Sir James Ware.

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together with neighbours, and be conversant in the view of the world. And to say truth, though Ireland bee by nature counted a great soyle of pasture, yet had I rather have fewer cowes kept, and men better mannered, then to have such huge increase of cattle, and no increase of good conditions. I would therefore wish that there were some ordinances made amongst them, that whosoever keepeth twentie kine, should keep a plough going; for otherwise all men would fall to pasturage, and none to husbandry, which is a great cause of this dearth now in England, and a cause of the usuall stealthes in Ireland: For looke into all countreyes that live in such sort by keeping of cattle, and you shall finde that they are both very barbarous and uncivill, and also greatly given to warre. The Tartarians, the Muscovites, the Norwegians, the Gothes, the Armenians, and many other doe witnesse the same. And therefore since now wee purpose to draw the Irish, from desire of warre and tumults, to the love of peace and civility, it is expedient to abridge their great custome of hardening, and augment their trade of tillage and husbandrie. As for other occupations and trades, they need not bee inforced to, but every man to be bound onely to follow one that hee thinkes himselfe aptest for. For other trades of artificers will be occupied for very necessitie, and constrayned use of them; and so likewise will merchandize for the gaine thereof; but learning, and bringing up in liberall sciences, will not come of it selfe, but must

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bee drawne on with streight lawes and ordinances: And therefore it were meete that such an act were ordained, that all the sonnes of lords, gentlemen, and such others as are able to bring them up in learning, should be trayned up therein from their child-hoods. And for that end every parish should be forced to keepe a pettie schoole-master, adjoyning unto the parish church, to bee the more in view, which should bring up their children in the first elements of letters: and that, in every countrey or baronie, they should keepe an other able schoole-master, which should instruct them in grammar, and [r] in the principles of sciences, to whom they should be compelled to send their youth to bee disciplined, whereby they will in short space grow up to that civill conversation, that

[r] *in the principles of sciences,*] How requisite also an universitie is for the further growth in learning, the judicious well know. This happinesse we now enjoy, to the great benefit of this land. And although former attempts have beene made for erecting and establishing universities in Ireland, yet through want of meanes, which should have beene allotted for their maintenance, they have soone faded. So hapned it with that academy which Alexander de Bignor, Archbishop of Dublin, erected (in S. Patricks Church) in Dublin, and procured to be confirmed by Pope Iohn the 12th. And no better succeeded that which was afterwards erected at Tredagh by act of parliament Anno 5. Edw. 4. (as appeares in the roll of that yeare in the Chauncery) whereby all the like priviledges, as the University of Oxford (in England) enjoyed, were conferred upon it. Besides these wee finde mention of others, farre more ancient, as at Armagh, and Ross. Carbry, or Ross. Ailithry, as it is called in the life of S. Faghnan the founder, who lived in the yeare 590. "Ipse Sanctus (saith the author) in australi Hiberniæ plagâ iuxta mare, in suo monasterio quod ipse fundavit, ibi crevit civitas, in quâ semper manens magnum studium scholarium, quod dicitur Rossailithry, habitabat." But a further search were fit to bee made touching those of the elder times. SIR JAMES WARE.

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both the children will loath their former rudenesse in which they were bred, and also their parents will even by the ensample of their young children perceive the foulenesse of their own behaviour, compared to theirs: For learning hath that wonderfull power in it selfe, that it can soften and temper the most sterne and savage nature.

Eudox. Surely I am of your minde, that nothing will bring them from their uncivill life sooner then learning and discipline, next after the knowledge and feare of God. And therefore I doe still expect, that you should come thereunto, and set some order for reformation of religion, which is first to bee respected; according to the saying of CHRIST, "Seeke first the kingdome of heaven, and the righteousnesse thereof."

Iren. I have in minde so to doe; but let me (I pray you) first finish that which I had in hand, whereby all the ordinances which shall afterwardes bee set for religion, may abide the more firmely, and bee observed more diligently. Now that this people is thus tythed and ordered, and every one bound unto some honest trade of life, which shall bee particularly entered and set downe in the tything booke, yet perhappes there will bee some stragglers and runnagates, which will not of themselves come in and yeeld themselves to this order, and yet after the well finishing of the present warre, and establishing of the garrisons in all

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strong places of the countrey, where there wonted refuge was most, I suppose there will few stand out, or if they doe, they will shortly bee brought in by the eares: But yet afterwardes, lest any one of them should swerve, or any that is tyed to a trade, should afterwardes not follow the same, according to this institution, but should straggle up and downe the countrey, [a] or mich in corners amongst their friends idely, as Carrowes, Bardes, Iesters, and such like, I would wishe that a Provost Marshall should bee appointed in every shire, which should continually walke about the countrey, with halfe a dozen, or halfe a score horsemen, to take up such loose persons as they should finde thus wandering, whome hee should punish by his owne authority, with such paines as the person shall seeme to deserve; for if hee be but once so taken idely roguing, hee may punish him more lightly, as with stockes, or such like; but if hee bee found againe so loytering, hee may scourge him with whippes, or rodds, after which if hee bee againe taken, let him have the bitternesse of marshall lawe. Likewise if any reliques of the olde rebellion bee found by any, that either have not come in and submitted themselves to the law, or that having once come in, doe breake forth againe, and walke disorderly, let them taste of

[a] *or* mich *in corners*] The word micher is used by Chaucer to denote a thief or vagabond, *Rom. R.* 6541. edit. Urr. And Mr. Tyrwhitt cites the following usage of the verb: "*Mychyn* or pryvely stelyn smale thyngs. Surripio. *Prompt. Parv.*" See also Cotgrave in V. "To *miche*, etre vilain."

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the same cuppe in Gods name; for it was due to them for their first guilt, and now being revived by their later loosenesse, let them have their first desert, as now being found unfit to live in the common-wealth.

Eudox. This were a good ordinance: but mee thinkes it is an unnecessary charge, and also unfit to continue the name or forme of any marshall law when as there is a proper officer already appointed for these turnes, to wit the sheriffe of the shire, whose peculiar office it is to walke up and downe his bayliwicke, as you would have a marshall to snatch up all those runnagates and unprofitable members, and to bring them to his gaole to bee punished for the same. Therefore this may well be spared.

Iren. Not so, me thinkes; for though the sheriffe have this authority of himselfe to take up all such stragglers, and imprison them, yet shall hee not doe so much good, nor worke that terrour in the hearts of them, that a marshall will, whom they shall know to have power of life and death in such cases, and especially to bee appointed for them: Neither doth it hinder that, but that though it pertaine to the sheriffe, the sheriffe may doe therein what hee can, and yet the marshall may walke his course besides; for both of them may doe the more good, and more terrifie the idle rogue, knowing that though he have a watch upon the one, yet hee may light upon the other: But this proviso is needefull to bee had in this case, that the

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sheriffe may not have the like power of life, as the marshall hath, and as heretofore they have beene accustomed; for it is dangerous to give power of life into the hands of him which may have benefit by the parties death, as, if the said loose liver have any goods of his owne, the Sheriffe is to seize thereupon, whereby it hath come to passe, that some who have not deserved iudgement of death, though otherwise perhaps offending, have beene for their goods sake caught up, and carryed straight to the bough; a thing indeed very pittiful and horrible. Therefore by no meanes I would have the Sheriffe have such authority, nor yet to imprison that lozell till the sessions, for so all gaoles might soon be filled; but to send him to the Marshall, who, eftsoones finding him faultie, shall give him meete correction, and ridd him away forthwith.

Eudox. I doe now perceive your reason well: But come wee now to that whereof wee earst spake, I meane, to religion and religious men; what order will you set amongst them?

Iren. For religion little have I to say, my selfe being (as I said) not professed therein, and it selfe being but one, so as there is but one way therein; for that which is true onely is, and the rest is not at all; yet, in planting of religion, thus much is needefull to be observed, that it bee not sought forcibly to bee impressed into them with terrour and sharpe penalties,

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as now is the manner, but rather delivered and intimated with mildnesse and gentlenesse, so as it may not be hated before it be understood, and their Professors despised and rejected. And therefore it is expedient that some discreete Ministers of their owne countrey-men, bee first sent over amongst them, which by their meeke perswasions and instructions, as also by their sober lives and conversations, may draw them first to understand, and afterwards to imbrace, the doctrine of their salvation; for if that the auncient godly fathers, which first converted them, when they were infidells, to the faith, were able to pull them from idolatry and paganisme to the true beliefe in CHRIST, as S. Patricke, and S. Columb, how much more easily shall godly teachers bring them to the true understanding of that which they already professed? wherein it is great wonder to see the oddes which is betweene the zeale of Popish Priests, and the Ministers of the Gospell; for they spare not to come out of Spaine, from Rome, and from Remes, by long toyle and daungerous travayling hither, where they know perill of death awayteth them, and no reward or richesse is to be found, onely to draw the people unto the Church of Rome; whereas some of our idle Ministers, having a way for credite and estimation thereby opened unto them, and having the livings of the countrey offered unto them, without paines, and without perill, will neither for the same, nor any love of God, nor zeale of religion, nor for all the good they may doe, by winning soules to God, bee drawne

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footh from their warme neastes, to looke out into Gods harvest, which is even ready for the sickle, and all the fields yellow long agoe; doubtlesse those good olde godly Fathers, will (I feare mee) rise up in the day of judgement to condemne them.

Eudox. Surely, it is great pitty, Iren. that there are none chosen out of the Ministers of England, good, sober, and discreet men, which might be sent over thither to teach and instruct them, and that there is not asmuch care had of their soules, as of their bodies; for the care of both lyeth upon the Prince.

Iren. Were there never so many sent over, they should doe smal good till one enormity be taken from them, that is, that both they bee restrayned from sending their yong men abroad to other Universities beyond the sea, as Remes, Doway, Lovaine, and the like, and others from abroad bee restrayned for comming into them; for their lurking secretly in their houses, and in corners of the countrey, doe more hurt and hinderance to religion with their private perswasions then all the others can doe good with their publique instructions; and though for these latter there be a good statute there ordained, yet the same is not executed; and as for the former there is no law nor order for their restraint at all.

Eudox. I marvaile it is no better looked unto, and

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not only this, but that also which I remember you mentioned in your abuses concerning the profits and revenewes of the lands of fugitives in Ireland, which by pretence of certaine colourable conveyances are sent continually over unto them, to the comforting of them and others against her Majestie, for which here in England there is good order taken; and why not then aswell in Ireland? For though there be no statute there yet enacted therefore, yet might her Majestie, by her only prerogative, seize the fruites and profites of those fugitive lands into her handes, till they come over to testifie their true allegiance.

Iren. Indeede shee might so doe; but the comberous times doe perhappes hinder the regard thereof, and of many other good intentions.

Eudox. But why then did they not mend it in peaceable times?

Iren. Leave we that to their grave considerations; but proceed we forward. Next care in religion is to build up and repayre all the ruined churches, whereof the most part lye even with the ground, and some that have bin lately repayred are so unhandsomely patched, and thatched, that men doe even shunne the places for the uncomelinesse thereof; therefore I would wishe that there were order taken to have them built in some better forme, according to the churches of England; for the outward shew (assure your selfe)

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doth greatly drawe the rude people to the reverencing and frequenting thereof, what ever some of our late too nice fooles say, there is nothing in the seemely forme, and comely order of the church. And for the keeping and continuing them, there should likewise Church-wardens of the gravest men in the parish be appointed, as they bee here in England, which should take the yearely charge both hereof, and also of the schoole-houses which I wish to be built neere the said churches; for maintenance of both which, it were meete that some small portion of lands were allotted, sith no more mortmaines are to be looked for.

Eudox. Indeede (me thinkes) it would be so convenient; but when all is done, how will you have your churches served, and your Ministers maintained? since the livings (as you say) are not sufficient scarce to make them gownes, much lesse to yeelde meete maintenance according to the dignity of their degree.

Iren. There is no way to helpe that, but to lay 2. or 3. of them together, untill such time as the countrey grow more rich and better inhabited, at which time the tythes, and other obventions, will also be more augmented and better valued: But now that we have thus gone through all the 3. sorts of trades, and set a course for their good establishment; let us (if it please you) goe next to some other needefull points of other publicke matters no lesse concerning the good of the commonwealth,

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though but accidentally depending on the former. And first I wish, that order were taken for the cutting and opening of all places through woods, so that a wide way of the space of 100. yards might be layde open in every of them for the safety of travellers, which use often in such perilous places to be robbed, and sometimes murdered. Next, that bridges were built upon the rivers, and all the fordes marred and spilt, so as none might passe any other way but by those bridges, and every bridge to have a gate and a gate house set thereon, whereof this good will come that no night stealths which are commonly driven in by-wayes, and by blinde fordes unused of any but such like, shall not be conveyed out of one country into another, as they use, but they must passe by those bridges, where they may either be haply encountred, or easily tracked, or not suffered to passe at all, by meanes of those gate-houses thereon: Also that in all straights and narrow passages, as betweene 2. boggs, or through any deepe foord, or under any mountaine side, there should be some little fortilage, or wooden castle set, which should keepe and command that straight, whereby any rebells that should come into the country might be stopped that way, or passe with great perill. Moreover, that all high wayes should be fenced and shut up on both sides, leaving onely 40. foote bredth for passage, so as none shall be able to passe but through the high wayes, whereby theeves and night robbers might be the more easily pursued and ea-

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countred, when there shall be no other way to drive their stolne cattle, but therein, as I formerly declared. Further, that there should bee in sundry convenient places, by the high wayes, townes appointed to bee built, the which should be free Burgesses, and incorporate under Bayliffes, to be by their inhabitants well and strongly intrenched, or otherwise fenced with gates on each side thereof, to be shut nightly, like as there is in many places in the English Pale, and all the wayes about it to be strongly shut up, so as none should passe but through those townes: To some of which it were good that the priviledge of a market were given, the rather to strengthen and inable them to their defence, for there is nothing doth sooner cause civility in any countrie then many market townes, by reason that people repairing often thither for their needes, will dayly see and learne civil manners of the better sort: Besides, there is nothing doth more stay and strengthen the country then such corporate townes, as by proofe in many rebellions hath appeared, in which when all the countryes have swerved, the townes have stood fast, and yeelded good releife to the souldiours in all occasions of services. And lastly there is nothing doth more enrich any country or realme then many townes; for to them will all the people drawe and bring the fruites of their trades, aswell to make money of them, as to supply their needefull uses; and the countrymen will also be more industrious in tillage, and rearing of all husbandry commodities, knowing that they shall have

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ready sale for them at those townes; and in all those townes should there be convenient innes, erected for the lodging and harbouring of travellers, which are now oftentimes spoyled by lodging abroad in weake thatched houses, for want of such safe places to shroude them in.

Eudox. But what profit shall your market townes reape of their market? when as each one may sell their corne and cattle abroad in the country, and make their secret bargaines amongst themselves as now I understand they use

Iren. Indeede, Eudoxus, they do so, and thereby no small inconvenience doth rise to the commonwealth; for now when any one hath stolne a cowe or a garron, he may secretly sell it in the country without privity of any, whereas if he brought it to a market towne it would perhaps be knowne, and the theife discovered. Therefore it were good that a straight ordinance were made, that none should buy or sell any cattle, but in some open market, (there being now market townes every where at hand,) upon a great penalty, neither should they likewise buy any corne to sell the same againe, unlesse it were to make malt thereof; for by such ingrosing and regrating wee see the dearth, that now commonly raigneth here in England, to have beene caused. Hereunto also is to bee added that good ordinance, which I remember was once proclaimed throughout all Ireland: That all men should marke their cattle with an open

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severall marke upon their flanckes or buttockes, so as if they happened to be stolne, they might appeare whose they were, and they, which should buy them, might thereby suspect the owner, and be warned to abstaine from buying them of a suspected person, with such an unknowne marke.

Eudox. Surely those ordinances seeme very expedient, but specially that of free-townes, of which I wonder there is so small store in Ireland, and that, in the first peopling and planting thereof, they were neglected and omitted.

Iren. They were not omitted; for there were, through all places of the country convenient, many good townes seated, which thorough that inundation of the Irish, which I first told you of, were utterly wasted and defaced, of which the ruines are yet in many places to be seene, and of some no signe at all remaining, save only their bare names; but their seats are not to be found.

Eudox. But how then commeth it to passe, that they have never since been recovered, nor their habitations reedified, as of the rest, which have beene no lesse spoyled and wasted?

Iren. The cause thereof was, for that, after their desolation, they were begged by gentlemen of the Kings, under colour to repaire them, and gather the poore reliques of the people againe together, of

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whom having obtained them, they were so farre from reedifying of them, as that by all meanes they have endeavoured to keepe them waste, least that, being repaired, their charters might be renewed, and their Burgesses restored to their lands, which they had now in their possession; much like as in those old monuments of abbeyes, and religious houses, we see them likewise use to doe: For which cause it is judged that King Henry the Eight bestowed them upon them, conceiving that thereby they should never bee able to rise againe. And even so doe these Lords, in these poore old corporate townes, of which I could name divers, but for kindling of displeasure. Therefore as I wished many corporate townes to be erected, so would I againe wish them to be free, not depending upon the service, nor under the commaund of any but the Governour. And being so, they will both strengthen all the country round about them, which by their meanes will be the better replenished and enriched, and also be as continuall houldes for her Majesty, if the people should revolt or breake out againe; for without such it is easie to forrage and over-run the whole land. Let be for ensample all those free-boroughes, in the low-countreyes, which are now all the strength thereof. These and other liks ordinances might be delivered for the good establishment of the realme, after it is once subdued and reformed, in which it might afterwards be very easily kept and maintained, with small care of the Governours and Councell there appointed, so as it should in short space yeeld a plentifull revenue to the crowne

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of England; which now doth but sucke and consume the treasure thereof, through those unsound plots and changefull orders, which are dayly devised for her good, yet never effectually prosecuted or performed.

Eudox. But in all this your discourse I have not marked any thing by you spoken touching the appointment of the principall Officer, to whom you wish the charge of the performance of all this to be committed: Onely I observed some fowle abuses by you noted in some of the late Governours, the reformation whereof you left of for this present place.

Iren. I delight not to lay open the blames of great Magistrates to the rebuke of the world, and therefore their reformation I will not meddle with, but leave unto the wisedome of greater heads to be considered; only thus much I will speake generally thereof, to satisfie your desire, that the Government and cheife Magistracy, I wish to continue as it doth, to wit, that it be ruled by a Lord Deputy or Iustice, for that it is a very safe kinde of rule; but there-withall I wish that over him there were placed also a Lord Lieutenant, of some of the greatest personages in England, [t] such a one I could name, upon whom the eye of all England is fixed, and our last hopes now rest; who being intituled with that dignity, and being here alwayes resident, may backe and defend the good course of that government against all maligners, which else will, through their cunning working under

[t] *such a one I could name,* &c.] Meaning the Earl of Essex. Todd.

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hand, deprave and pull back what ever thing shall be begun or intended there, as we commonly see by experience at this day, to the utter ruine and desolation of that poore realme; and this Lieutenancy should be no discountenancing of the Lord Deputy, but rather a strengthning of all his doings; for now the chiefe evill in that government is, that no Governour is suffered to goe on with any one course, but upon the least information here, of this or that, hee is either stopped and crossed, or other courses appointed him from hence which he shall run, which how inconvenient it is, is at this houre too well felt: And therefore this should be one principall in the appointing of the Lord Deputies authority, that it should bee more ample and absolute then it is, and that he should have uncontrouled power to doe any thing, that he with the advisement of the Councell should thinke meete to be done: For it is not possible for the Counsell here, to direct a Governour there, who shall be forced oftentimes to follow the necessitie of present actions, and to take the suddaine advantage of time, which being once lost will not bee recovered; whilst, through expecting direction from hence, the delayes whereof are oftentimes through other greater affaires most irkesome, the oportunityes there in the meane time passe away, and great danger often groweth, which by such timely prevention might easily be stopped: And this (I remember) is worthily observed by Machiavel in his discourses upon Livie, where he commendeth the manner of the Romans government, in giving absolute power to all their

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Councellors and Governours, which if they abused, they should afterwards dearely answere: And the contrary thereof he reprehendeth in the States of Venice, of Florince, and many other principalityes of Italy; who use to limit their chiefe officers so strictly, as that thereby they have oftentimes lost such happy occasions, as they could never come unto againe: The like whereof, who so hath beene conversant in that government of Ireland, hath too often seene to their great hinderance and hurt. Therefore this I could wish to be redressed, and yet not so but that in particular things he should be restrained, though not in the generall government; as namely in this, that no offices should bee sould by the Lord Deputy for money, nor no pardons, nor no protections bought for reward, nor no beoves taken for Captainries of countryes, nor no shares of Bishopricks for nominating Bishops, nor no forfeytures, nor dispensations with penall Statutes given to their servants or friends, nor no selling of licences for transportation of prohibited wares, and specially of corne and flesh; with many the like; which needs some manner of restrainte, or else very great trust in the honorable disposition of the Lord Deputy.

Thus I have, Eudoxus, as briefly as I could, and as my memorie would serve me, run through the state of that whole country, both to let you see what it now is, and also what it may bee by good care and amendment: Not that I take upon me to change the policy of so great a kingdome, or pre-

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scribe rules to such wise men as have the handling thereof, but onely to shew you the evills, which in my small experience I have observed, to be the chiefe hinderance of the reformation; and by way of conference to declare my simple opinion for the redresse thereof, and establishing a good course for government; which I doe not deliver as a perfect plot of mine owne invention to be onely followed, but as I have learned and understood the same by the consultations and actions of very wise Governours and Councellours, whom I have (sometimes) heard treate hereof: So have I thought good to set downe a remembrance of them for my owne good, any your satisfaction, that who so list to overlooke them, although perhaps much wiser then they which have thus advised of that state, yet at least by comparison hereof may perhaps better his owne judgment, and by the light of others fore-going him, may follow after with more ease, and haply finde a fairer way thereunto, then they which have gone before.

Eudox. I thanke you, Irenæus, for this your gentle paines; withall not forgetting, now in the shutting up, to put you in minde of that which you have formerly halfe promised, that hereafter when wee shall meete againe, upon the like good occasion, you will declare unto us those your observations, which you have gathered of the antiquities of Ireland [u].

[u] See several observations, relating to this View of the State of Ireland, in the Life of Spenser. TODD.

HERE ENDETH SPENSER'S VIEW OF IRELAND.

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[ii.]

Ancient Irish Histories.

A

HISTORIE

OF

IRELAND,

Written in the Yeare

1571.

BY

EDMUND CAMPION,

SOMETIME FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEDGE, IN OXFORD.

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TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

THOMAS LO: VISCOVNT VVENTVVORTH,

LO: DEPVTY GENERALL

OF

IRELAND.

THESE two Bookes (right Honorable) now published for the common benefit, I doe here humbly offer to your Lordships view, as containing Annales and other worthy memorialls of this Kingdome, whereof it hath pleased his most Excellent Majesty to constitute you the Governor. And how-ever it cannot be denyed, that the judicious eye may discerne, especially in *Campion*, many slips, through want of necessary instructions, yet in regard of the great light which els-where these Histories doe affoord to the knowledge of former times, and the good use which may be made of them by any who have leisure, desire, and ability to erect and polish a

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lasting structure of our Irish affaires, I am emboulдned to present them to your Lordships patronage, whose government I beseech the Almighty so to blesse; that it may bee long a happines to this land.

Your Lordships ever humbly

at commandement,

JAMES WARE.

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THE

PREFACE

TO THE

SVBSEQVENT HISTORIES.

WHAT varietie of choyse matter the affaires of this Kingdome doe affoord to an Historian, especially since the middle of the raigne of King Henry *the VIII. any one that is but meanely versed in our Histories can testifie: But if we consider how little hath hetherto bin published, wee cannot but blame the slownes of our learned men, who have (for by-respects) forborne to take paines in so worthy a subject. England hath had the happines that some parts of her Historie have bin lately excellently performed, by the right honorable* Francis *late Viscount St. Alban, the right Reverend* Francis *Lo: Bishop of Hereford, the most learned* William Camden *and others. Some will hereafter, I hope, doe the like for Jreland: In the meane while we are to accept of these tastes, the one left vnto us by* Edmund Cam-

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pion, *and the other by Doctor* Hanmer, *who died (of the plague in Dublin in the yeare M.DC. IIII.) before he had finished his intended worke: out of whose collections, what now beareth his name hath bin preserved by our most Reverend and excellently learned Primate. Other helpes (to passe by those which are already divulged) may be plentifully had by him who will undertake this taske, out of the auncient and moderne recordes, both in this Kingdome and in England, as also out of diverse manuscript Annales and Chartularies, which are yet extant among us, besides those authors of English birth, as* John VVallingford *a Monke of St. Alban,* Thomas VVike *a Canon of Osney, and others, (which I have seene) in that excellent library and treasury of MSS. antiquities, gathered by Sir* Robert Cotton *knight and Baronett deceased, who doe onely obiter touch upon our affaires. An intention there was not long since by Sir* James Ley *knight then Lord Chiefe Justice of the Kings Bench in Ireland, (afterwards Lord High Treasurer of England and Earle of Marleborough) to have published some of our country writers in this kinde, for which end hee caused to be transcribed and made fit for the Presse, the Annales of* John Clynne *a Frier minor of Kilkenny, (who*

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lived in the time of King Edw. *the* 3.*) the Annales of the Priory of* S. John the Evangelist of Kilkenny, *and the Annales of* Multifernan, Rosse *and* Clonmell, *&c. But his weighty occasions did afterwards divert his purpose. The copies are yet preserved, and J hope ere long with other Annales and fragments of the same nature will be divulged. Wee come now to the Authors in hand.*

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TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

ROBERT DUDLEY,

BARON OF DENBIGH,

EARLE OF LEICESTER, KNIGHT OF THE NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER, AND S. MICHAELS, MASTER OF THE QUEENES MAJESTIES HORSE, AND ONE OF HER PRIVY COUNCELL, HIGH CHAUNCELLOUR OF THE VNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

My singular good Lord,

THAT my travaile into Ireland, might seeme neither causlesse, nor fruitlesse, I have thought it expedient, being one member of your Lordships honorable charge to yeeld you this poore book, as an accompt of my poore voyage, happily not the last, nor the most beautifull present that is intended to your Honour by me, but surely more full of unsavoury toyle for the time, then any plot of worke that ever I attempted, which I write, not of vanity to commend my diligence, but of necessitie to excuse mine imper-

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fection. For whereas it is well knowne to the learned in this land, how late it was ere I could meet with *Gerald* of Wales, the onely Author that ministreth some indifferent furniture to this Chronicle, and with what search I have beene driven to piece out the rest by helpe of forreine Writers (incidently touching this Realme) by a number of briefe extracts of rolles, records and scattered papers. These things (I say) considered, I trust this little volume shall seeme great enough in such barren shift, & my defect in penning the same shalbe imputed partly to my haste, who must needs have ended all before I should leave the land, and am now even upon point of my departure. So as to handle and lay these things together, I had not in all the space of ten weekes. Such as it is, I addresse and bequeath it to your good Lordship, for two causes. First that by the patronage of this Booke you may be induced to weigh the estate and become a patron to this noble Realme, which claimeth kindred of your eldest auncestors, and loveth entirely your noble vertues: The fame whereof is now carried by those strangers that have felt them into many forraine countryes that never saw your person. Secondly because there is none that knoweth mee familiarly, but he knoweth vvithall how many vvayes I

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have beene beholding to your Lordship. The regard of your deserts and of my duty hath easily wonne at my hands this testimony of a thankefull minde. I might be thought ambitious, if I should recount in particular the times & places of your severall courtesies to mee. How often at Oxford, how often at the Court, how at Rycot, how at Windsore, how by letters, hovv by reportes, you have not ceased to further with advice and to countenance with authority, the hope and expectation of mee a single Student. Therefore in summe it shall suffice mee to acknowledge the generall heape of your bounties, and for them all to serve your honour frankely, at least wise with a true heart: Let every man esteeme in your state and fortune, the thing that best contenteth and feedeth his admiration; But surely to a judgement setled and rectified, these outward felicities which the world gazeth on, are there, and therefore to be denied, praiseable when they lodge those inward qualities of the minde, which (saving for suspition of flattery) I was about to say are planted in your breast. Thirteene yeares to have lived in the eye and speciall credit of a Prince, yet never during all that space to have abused this ability to any mans harme, to be enriched with no mans overthrow, to be kindled

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neither with grudge nor emulation, to benefit an infinite resort of dayly sutors, to let downe your calling to the neede of meane subjects, to retaine so lowly a stomacke, such a facility, so milde a nature in so high a vocation, to undertake the tuition of learning and learned men. These are indeede the kirnels for the which the shell of your nobilitie seemeth faire and sightly; This is the sap, for whose preservation the barke of your noble tree is tendered. This is the substance which maketh you worthy of these Ornaments wherevvith you are attyred, and in respect of these good gifts as I for my part have ever bin desirous to discover an officious and dutifull minde towards your Lordship, so will I never cease to betake the uttermost of my power and skill to your service, nor to begge of Almighty God your plentifull increase in godlines, wisdome and prosperity. Fare you well: From Dublin 27 May, 1571.

Your Lordships

humbly to commaund.

EDMUND CAMPION.

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TO THE

LOVING READER.

AT my times of leisure from ordinary studies, I have since my first arrivall hither, enquired out antiquityes of the land, wherein being holpen by diverse friendly Gentlemen, I have given th' adventure to frame a Story, which I bring from the very first originall untill th' end of this last yeare 1570. *I follow these Authors,* Giraldus Cambrensis, *who devideth his worke into two parts, from the first (which is stuffed with much impertinent matter) I borrow so much as serveth the turne directly, the second which containeth two bookes, and discourseth the conquest of* Henry Fitz Empresse, *I abridge into one Chapter: where* Cambrensis *endeth, there beginneth a nameles Author, who in certaine short notes containeth a Chronologie until the yeare of Christ* 1370. *From thence to* Henry *the Eight, because nothing is extant orderly written, and the same is time beyond any mans memory, I scamble forward with such records as could be sought up, and am enforced to be the*

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briefer. From Henry *th' eight hitherto, I tooke instructions by mouth, whatsoever I bring besides these helpes, either mine own observation hath found it, or some friend hath enformed me, or common opinion hath received it, or I reade it in a pamphlet, or if the Author be worthy the naming I quote him in the margent. Scottish Histories I used these twaine, famous in their times,* John Major, *and* Hector Boethius. *For English, wherein the state of Ireland is oft implyed, because I am not in place to examine the auncient, I have credited these late writers,* Fabian, Polidore, Cooper, Hall, Grafton, *and* Stowe: *diligent and thankesworthy collectors. Touching the rest of all sorts, from whose bookes I picke matter to my purpose, they are mentioned as they fall in ure, which here I list not to reckon, being loath to fill the page with a ranke of empty names. Irish Chronicles, although they be reported to be full fraught of lewde examples, idle tales, and genealogies:* Et quicquid Græcia mendax audet in historiâ, *yet concerning the state of that wilde people specified before the conquest. I am perswaded that with choice and judgment, I might have sucked thence some better store of matter, and gladly would have sought them, had I found an interpreter, or understood their*

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tongue, th' one so rare, that scarcely five in five hundred can skill thereof, th'other so hard, that it asketh continuance in the Land, of more yeares then I had moneths to spare about this busines, my speciall meaning was to gather so much as I thought the civill subjects could bee content to reade, and withall to give a light to the learned Antiquaries of this Countrey birth, who may hereafter at good leisure supply the want of this foundation, and pollish the stone rough hewed to their hand. Notwithstanding as naked and simple as it is, it could never have growne to any proportion in such post-haste, except I had entered into such familiar societie, and daylie table-talke with the worshipfull Esquire Iames Stanihurst, *Recorder of Dublin. VVho beside all curtesie of Hospitality, and a thousand loving turnes not heere to be recited, both by word and written monuments, and by the benefit of his owne Library, nourished most effectually mine endeavour. It remaineth that I request my countrymen to bend their good liking to my goodwill, and the English of Ireland to favour the memory of their noble auncestors, both twaine to deliver me from all undue and wrong suspitions, howsoever the priviledge of an history hath tempered mine inke with sweet or sowre ingre-*

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dients. Verily as touching the affaires and persons heere deciphered, how little cause I have with any blind and corrupt affection, either wayes to be miscarryed, themselves know best that heere be noted yet living, and other by enquiring may conjecture. Farewell. From Droghedah the 9. *of Iune.* 1571.

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CAMPION'S

HISTORIE OF IRELAND

THE FIRST BOOKE.

CAP. I.

The Site and speciall parts of Ireland.

IRELAND lieth a-loofe in the West Ocean, and is deemed by the later Survey, to be in length well-nigh three hundred miles north & south: broad from East to West one hundred and twentie. In proportion it resembleth an egge, blunt and plaine on the sides, not reaching forth to Sea, in nookes and elbowes of Land, as Brittaine doth.

Long since, it was devided into foure regions, Leinster East, Connaght West, Vlster North, Mounster South, and into a fift plot defalked from every fourth part, lying together in the heart of the Realme, called thereof Media, Meath.

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Each of these five (where they are framable to civility, and answere the writts of the Crowne,) be sundred into shires and counties, after this manner.

In Leinster lye the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Weixford, Caterlagh, Kilkenny, King & Queenes counties, these two lately so named by Parliament in the raignes of *Philip* and *Mary*, having Shire-townes accordant, Philipstown and Marryborrow.

Septes, Irish of name planted in these quarters, they reckon, the *Birnes*, *Tooles*, *Cauanaghes*, which is the nation of *Macmurrow*, *Omores*, *Oconnores*, *Odempsyes*, *Odun*.

Citties of best account, Dyvelin: the beauty and eye of Ireland, fast by a goodly river, which *Cambrensis* calleth Avenlifius. *Ptoloiny* Libnius, they call the Lyffie. The seat hereof is in many respects comfortable, but less frequented of marchant strangers, because of the bard haven. Kildare hath Kildare and the Naass. Weixford hath Weixford and Ross. Kilkenny hath Kilkenny the best dry towne in Ireland on the Southside of the river Suirus, also Callan and Thomastowne.

Meath is devided into East and West Meath, and the counties of Longford. Here dwelleth ancient Irish families (sometime Princes & Potentates) *Omalaghlen*, *Mac-Coghlan Obrien*, *Omulloy*, *Omadden*,

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Macgoghigan, the Fox. This whole part, and the veyne of Finegale in Leinster, are best imployed with husbandry, and taken to be the richest soyles in Ireland.

Connaght hath as yet but the county Clare, the town of Athenry: & Galway, a proper neat city at the sea side. Herein *Turlogh More Oconner* was a peere, & parted the whole betwixt his two Sonnes, *Cahal*, and *Bryen Oconnor*. In it are now cheife Irish, *Breni Oreli, Breni Oruarke, Oconnor Sligo, Odeade, Oharà, Macphilippin, Mac-dermot, Oconnordonn, Oconnor-Roe*, the *O-kellies*, *Mac-glomore*, of Langues, La *Bermingham, Omaly, Mac-william Euter, Oflaherty, Clanricarde.*

Vlster wherein *Oneale* & *Odonil* are cheife Irish, contayneth the counties, Louth, Down, Antrim, the moity of Droghdah (for the rest is in Meath) cheife town of Louth Dundalk, of Down, Down, & Carlingford, of Droghdagh, Droghdaghe, of Antrim, Cnockfergus, called also Cragfergus.

This part is dissevered from Meath and Leinster by the river Boandus, which breaketh out beside Loghfoyle, a bogg betweene Ardmagh, and S. *Patriekes* Purgatorie. *Cambrensis* reputeth the bogge at 30. miles in length, and halfe so much in breadth, and the same once firme Land, to have beene suddenly ouerflowen, for the bestiall incest committed there, vnfit to be told.

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In Mounster lye the counties of Waterford, Limericke, Cork, counties Pallatine of Tipperary, Kerry, and exempt from priviledge the Crosse of Tipperarie.

Waterford hath Dongarvon, and Waterford full of traffique with England, France, and Spaine, by meanes of their excellent good Haven.

Limericke hath Kilmallocke lately sackt by *Iames Fitz Morice*, and the Citie Limiricum, coasting on the sea, hard upon the river Shannon, whereby are most notably severed Mounster and Connaght.

Corke hath Kinsale, Yowghall, and the Cittie Corke, Tipperary hath Tipperary, Clonmell, Fidderstown, Cassell. Mounster was of old time devided into East-Mounster, Ormond, West-Mounster, Desmond, South-Mounster, Thomond. Here dwell *Obrenes*, *Maonemarraes*, *Mack-mahownes*, and one sept of the *Offlhertles*.

In these quarters lyeth the Countryes of *O-Carroll*, *O-Magher*, the white Knight, *Mac-Ibrine*, *O-Gaunaghe*.

Waterford contayneth the Powers, and Deces.

Corke the *Barries* Lands, Imokillie, Carbarrie, Maccarty-more, Maccarty-reagh, L. *Rockes* lands, Osulivan, Muscry, L. *Courcy*, and diverse more, some of Irish blood, some degenerate and become Irish.

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Limericke hath in it the Knight of the valley, *William Burcke*, Mac-Ibrine Ara, part of the white Knights Lands, *Cosmay*, *Obrenes*, and upon the edge of Kerrie the greene Knight, *alias* the knight of Kerrie.

Leinster butteth upon England, Mounster and Connaght upon France and Spaine, Vlster upon the Scottish Ilands (which face with *Hebrides*) scattered between both realmes; wherein at this day, the Irish Scot Successour of the old Scythian Pict or Redshancke dwelleth.

The spirituall Iurisdiction [a] is ordered into 4. Provinces whereof the primacy was euer given (in reverence toward Saint *Patricke* their Apostle) to the Archbishoppe of Ardmagha, now called Ardmagh, which custome was since confirmed by *Eugenius* the 3. who sent withall 3. other prelates to be placed, one at Dublin, one at Cashell, & the last at Tuam. To these are suffraganes in right 29. and all they inferiour to the Primate of Ardmaghe: under his province are the Bishopprickes of Meath, Derry, Ardagh, Kilmore, Clogher, Downe, Coner, Clonmacknoes, Rapho, and Dromore.

Vnder Dublin [b] (whereunto, *Innocentius* 3. united Glandelagh) are the Bishop of Elphine, Kildare, Fernes, Ossorie and Laighlein.

[a] Bishops in Ireland. Bern. in vita Malach. An. 1148.

[b] Dublin. an. 1212. S. Pat. booke of Recordes.

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Vnder Cashell are B. of Waterford, Lysmore, Corke, & Clone, Rosse, Ardigh, Limericke, Emely, Killalo, Ardferte.

Vnder Tuam the B. of Kilmaco, Olfine, Anaghdoune, Clonfert, Mayo. In this recount some diversities have happened by reason of personall and reall vnion of the Seas and for other alterations.

An old distinction there is of Ireland into Irish & English pales, for when the Irish had raised continual tumults against the English planted heere with the Conquest. At last they coursed them into a narrow circuite of certaine shires in Leinster, which the English did choose, as the fattest soyle, most defensible, their proper right, and most open to receiue helpe from England. Hereupon it was termed their pale, as whereout they durst not peepe. But now both within this pale, uncivill Irish and some rebells dee dwell, and without it, Countreyes and cities English are well governed.

CAP. II.

The temporall Nobility.

BY conference with certaine gentlemen, attendants vpon Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Deputie, (who excelleth in that knowledge) I tooke notice of the most

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noble English families in Ireland, which heere ensue with their surnames as they stand at this present.

Gerald Fitz Gerald Earle of Kildare, this house was of the nobilitie of Florence, came thence to Normandie, and so with earle Strangbow his kinsman, (whose Armes hee giveth) into Wales, neere of blood to *Rice ap Griffin* Prince of Wales, by *Vesta* the mother of *Morice Fitz Gerald*, and *Robert Fitz Stephens:* with the said Earle it removed into Ireland, one of the speciall conquerours thereof. One record that I have seene, nameth a *Geraldine* the first Earle of Kildare, in anno 1289. But another saith, there dyed a *Geraldine* the fourth Earle of Kildare in anno 1316. the family is touched in the sonnet of Surrey, made upon Kildares sister, now Lady Clinton.

From Tuscane came my Ladyes worthy race,
Faire Florence was sometime her ancient seate,
The western Isle whose pleasant shore doth face,
Wilde Cambres *cliffes did give her lively heate.*

His eldest sonne Lord *Gerald*, Baron of Ophalye, I reade the *Geraldine* Lord of Ophalye, in anno 1270.

Sir *Thomas Butler*, Earle of Ormond and Ossorye: the *Butlers* were ancient English Gentlemen, preferred to the Earldome of Ormond in the first of *Edward* the 3. Anno 1327. which fell upon heires generall, lastly upon Sir *Thomas Butler* Earle of Wilshire, after

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whose disfavour it reversed to the name of *Pierce Butler*, whom little before King H. 8. had created Earle of Ossorye. *Theo. Butler* was Lord of the Carricke. An. 1205. And Earle of Tipperarie 1300. or sooner: The Latine History calleth him *Dominum de Pincerna*, the English *Le Bottiller*, whereby it appeareth that hee had some such honour about the Prince, his very surname is *Becket*, who was advanced by H. le 2. in recompence of the injurie done to *Thomas* of Canterburie their kinsman.

His eldest sonne Lord *Butler*, Viscount Thurles.

Gerald Fitz Gerald, Earle of Desmond, *Morice Fitz Thomas*, a Geraldine, was created Earle of Desmond the same yeare: soone after that the Butler became Earle of Ormond. The Irish say, that the elder house of the *Geraldines* was made Earle of Desmond, though *Kildare* be the more ancient Earle.

His eldest sonne *L. Fitz Gerald* of Desmond, Baron of Inshycoin.

Sir Richard Burcke, Earle of Clanriccard, a braunch of the English family, *de Burge* Lord *Burgh*, who were noble men before their arrivall into Ireland.

His eldest sonne *Vlioke Burge* Baron of Donkeline.

Conegher Obrene, Earle of Tumond: the name of Earle given to *Murrough he Obrene* for terme of life, and

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after to *Dondghe Obrene*, An. 5. *Edw.* 6. now confirmed to the heires male.

His eldest sonne *Lo. Obrene*, Baron of Inchequin.
Mac Cartimore, Earle of Clancar, created An 1565.
His eldest sonne Lo: Baron of *Valentia*.
Viscount *Barrie*.
Viscount *Roche*.

Preston, Viscount of Gormanston, whereunto is lately annexed the Barony of Lounders, their auncestour *Preston*, then cheife Baron of the Exchequer, was made Knight in the field by *Lionell* Duke of Clarence, Lieutenant of Ireland.

Eustace alias *Powere*, Viscount of Baltinglasse, Lord of Kilkullen, to him and his heires male An. H. 8. 33. Their ancestour *Robert le Powere* was sent into Ireland with commission, and in his Off-spring hath rested heere since An. 1175. *Powere* alias *Eustace* is written Baron of Domvile An. 1317.

Sir *Richard Butler*, Viscount Mountgarret, to him and his heires males An. Edw. 6. 5.

Viscount *Deces*.

Lord *Bermingham*, Baron of Athenrye, now degenarate and become meere Irish, against whom his auncestors served valiantly in An. 1300.

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Sir *Richard Bermingham* was Lord of Athenrye. 1316.

Iohn Bermingham Baron de Atrio dei, Anno 1318.
Mac Morice alias *Fitz Gerald*, Baron of Kerye.

Lord *Courcye* a poore man, not very Irish, the auncient descent of the *Courcyes* planted in Ireland with the Conquest.

Lord *Flemmynge* Baron of Slane, *Simon Flemmynge* was Baron of Slane in Anno 1370.

Plonket, Baron of Killyne: this family came in with the Danes, whereof they have as yet speciall monuments.

Nugent, Baron of Delvin.
Saint Laurence, Baron of Hothe.
Plonket, Baron of Doonesawny.

Barnewall, Baron of Trimleston: they came from little Brittaine, where they are at this day a great surname, upon their first arrivall they wonne great possessions at Beirnhaven, where at length by conspiracie of the Irish, they were all slaine, except one yong man, who then studied the common Lawes in England, who returning, dwelt at Dromnaghe beside Divelin, and his heires are there at this day: from thence a second brother remooved to Sirestone, and so to Trimlestone,

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and married the Lady Bruns, who caused him to be made Baron.

This writeth the Lord of Donsany.

Edward Butler, Baron of Donboyne, given to *Edmond Butler* esquire, and his heires males, An. 33. H. 8.

Fitz Patricke, Baron of upper Ossory, given to *Barnabie Mac Gilpatricke*, and his heires males, An. 33. H. 8.

Donnate Clonnaghe Mac Gilpatricke, was a peerelesse warriour in Anno 1219.

Plonket Baron of Louthe, to Sir *Christopher Plonket* and his heires males, An. 33. H. 8. This Barony was an Earldome in An. 1316. appertaining to *Bermingham*.

Oneale, Baron of Dongannon, to whom the Earledome of Terone was entayled by gift of H. 8.

Powere, Baron of Curraghmore.

Mac Suretan Lord Deseret, whom Sir *Henry Sidney* called *Iordan de Exeter*. This was Lord in the time of *Lionell* Duke of Clarence, An. 1361. now very wilde Irish.

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Murrogh Obrene, Baron of Inchiquyne, to him and his heires males, An. 35. H. 8.

Mac Costlagh, L. Nangle, whom Sir *Henry Sidney* called *de Angulo*, now very Irish.

Mac William Burcke, Lord of eighter Connaght, now very Irish.

Baronets.

Seintleger, Baronet of Slemarge, meere Irish.
Dan, Baronet of Portman ston, waxing Irish.
Fitz Gerald, Baronet of Burnchurch.
Welleslye, Baronet of Narraghe.
Husee, Baronet of Galtrim.
S. Michell, Baronet of Reban.
Marwarde, Baronet of Scryne.
Nangle, Baronet of the Navan.

English gentlemen of longest continuance in Ireland are the race of those which at this day, either in great povertie, or perill, doe keepe the properties of their auncestors lands in Vister, being then companions to *Courcy* the conquerour and Earle of that part. These are the *Savages*, *Iordanes*, *Fitz Symonds*, *Chamberlaines*, *Russels*, *Bensons*, *Audleyes*, *Whites*, *Fitz Vrsulyes*, now degenerate, & called in Irish, *Mac Mahon* the Beares sonne.

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CAP. III.

Nature of the soyle, and other incidents.

THE soyle is low and waterish, & includeth diverse little Ilands, invironed with bogges and marishes: Highest hilles have standing pooles in their toppe, Inhabitants (especially new come) are subiect to distillations, rhumes and flixes, for remedy whereof they use an ordinary drinke of Aquavitæ, so qualified in the making, that it dryeth more, and inflameth lesse, then other hote confections. The aire is wholsome, not altogether so cleare and subtle as ours of England. Of Bees good store, no vineyards, contrary to the opinion of some writers, who both in this and other errours touching the land, may easily be excused, as those that wrote of hearesay.

Cambrensis in his time, complaineth that Ireland had excesse of wood, and very little champaigne ground, but now the English pale is too naked: Turffe and Sea-coales is their most fuell: it is stored of kyne, of excellent horses, & hawkes, of fish and fowle. They are not without wolves, and greyhounds to hunt them, bigger of bone and limme then a colt. Their kyne, as also their cattle, and commonly what els soever the Countrey ingendreth (except man) is much lesse in quantity then ours of England. Sheepe few and those bearing course fleeces,

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whereof they spinne notable rugge mantle. The country is very fruitefull both of corne and grasse, the grasse for default of Husbandrie (not for the cause alleaged in *Polychronicon*,) groweth so ranke in the north parts, that oft times it rotteth their Kyne. Eagles are well knowne to breed heere, but neither so bigge nor so many as Bookes tell. *Cambrensis* reporteth of his owne knowledge, and I heare it averred by credible persons, that Barnacles, thousands at once, are noted along the shoares to hang by the beakes, about the edges of putrified timber, shippes, oares, anchor-holdes, and such like: which in processe taking lively heate of the Sunne, become water-foules, and at their time of ripenesse either fall into the sea, or fly a broad into the ayre. *Æneas Sylvius* (that after was Pope *Pius* the second) writeth himselfe, to have perceaved the like experiment in Scotland, where he learned the truth hereof, to be found in the Ilands Orchades. Horses they have of pace easie, in running wonderfull swift. Therefore they make of them great store, as wherein at times of need they repose a great peice of safetie. This broode, *Raphael Volateranus* saith, to have come at first from Arturia the country of Spaine, betweene Gallicea and Portugall, whereof they were called Asturcones a name now properly applyed to the Spanish Iennet.

I heard it verified by Honourable to Honourable, that a Nobleman (offered and was refused) for one

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such horse, an hundred kyne, five pound Lands, & an Airy of Hawks yearely during seven yeares. In the plaine of Kildare stood that monstrous heape of stones brought thither by Gyants from Affrique and removed thence to the plaine of Sarisbury at the instance of *Aurel. Ambrose* King of Brittaine. No venemous creping beast is brought forth or nourished, or can live here, being sent in, and therefore the spider of Ireland is well knowne, not to be venemous.

Onely because a frogge was found living, in the Meadowes of Waterford, somewhat before the conquest, they construed it to import their overthrowe. S. *Bede* writeth that Serpents conveyed hither did presently die being touched with smell of the land; and that whatsoever came hence was then of Soveraigne vertue against poyson. He exemplifieth in certaine men stung with Adders, who dranke in water the scrapings of Bookes that had beene of Ireland, and were cured.

Generally it is observed, the further West the lesse annoyance of pestilent creatures. The want whereof is to Ireland so peculiar, that whereas it lay long in question, to whether Realme, (Brittaine or Ireland) the Ile of Man should pertaine, the said controversie was decided, that forsomuch as venemous beasts were knowne to breed therein, it could not be counted a naturall peice of Ireland.

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Neither is this propertie to be ascribed to S. *Patrickes* blessing (as they commonly hold) but to the originall blessing of God who gave such nature to the situation and soyle from the beginning. And though I doubt not, but it fared the better in many respects for that holy mans prayer, yet had it this condition notified hundred of yeares ere he was borne.

CAP. IIII.

Of the Irish tongue and the name Hibernia, Ireland.

I FINDE it solemnely avouched in some of their pamphlets, that *Gathelus*, and after him *Simon Brecke*, divised their language out of all other tongues then extant in the world. But considering the course of enterchanging and blending speeches together, not by invention of Arte, but by use of talke, I am rather led to beleeve (seeing Ireland was inhabited within one yeare after the devision of the tongues) that *Bartolanus* a braunch of *Iapheth*, who first seased upon Ireland, brought hither the same kinde of Speech, some one of the seventie two Languages, that to his family befell at the dissolution of Babell, unto whom succeeded the Scithians, Grecians, Ægyptians, Spaniards, Danes: of all which this tongue must needes have borrowed part, but specially retaining the steps of Spanish then spoken

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in Granado, as from their mightiest auncestors.[c] Since then to *Henry Fitz Empresse* the Conquerour, no such invasion happened them, as whereby they might be driven to infect their native language, untouched in manner for the space of 1700. yeares after the arrivall of *Hiberius*. The tongue is sharpe and sententious, offereth great occasion to quicke apothegmes and proper allusions, wherefore their common Iesters, Bards, and Rymers, are said to delight passingly those that conceive the grace and propriety of the tongue. But the true Irish indeede differeth so much from that they commonly speake, that scarce one among five score, can either write, read, or understand it. Therefore it is prescribed among certaine their Poets, and other Students of Antiquitie.

Touching the name *Ibernia*, the learned are not yet agreed. Some write it *Hibernia*, and suppose that the strangers finding it in an odde end of the world, wet and frosty, tooke it at the first for a very cold country, and accordingly named it, as to say, the winter land: Another bringeth a guesse of Irlamal,[d] of whom because I read nothing, I neither build upon that conjecture, nor controll it. Thirdly, they fetch it from *Hiberus* the Spaniard. Most credibly it is held that the Spaniards their founders for devotion toward Spaine, called then Iberia, and the rather for that

[c] Munst. l. 2.

[d] Irlamale Fab. part 2. cap. 32.

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themselves had dwelled besides the famous river Iberus, named this land Iberia, (for so *Iohn Leland*, and many forraine Chroniclers write it,) or Ibernia, adding the letter n. for difference sake, there being a rich Citty which *Ptolome* recounteth called then Ibernis,[e] & from Ibernia proceedeth Iberland or Iuerland, from Iuerland by contraction Ireland, for so much as in corruption of common talke, wee finde that v, with his vowell, are easily lost and suppressed. So wee say ere for ever, ore for over, ene for even, nere for never, shoole for shovell, dile for divell. At the same time it was also named *Scotia* in reverence of *Scota*, the wife of *Gathelus*, auncient Capitaine of those Iberians, that flitted from Spaine into Ireland. And the said *Scota* was olde grandame to *Hiberus* and *Hirimon*, after the Scottish Chronicles,[f] who in any wise will have their Countrymen derived from the Irish, and not from the Brittaines.

CAP. V.

Dispositions of the People.

THE People are thus inclined; religious, franke, amorous, irefull, sufferable, of paines infinite, very glorious, many sorcerers, excellent horsemen, de-

[e] Pliny writeth it Iuuernia. Ibernis. Iuerland. Imland.

[f] Io. Ma. Sco. l. 1. c. 9.

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lighted with Warres, great almes-givers, passing in hospitalitie: the lewder sort both Clarkes and Laymen, are sensuall and loose to leachery above measure. The same being vertuously bred up or reformed, are such mirrours of holinesse and austeritie, that other Nations retaine but a shewe or shadow of devotion in comparison of them. As for abstinence and fasting which these dayes make so dangerous, this is to them a familiar kinde of chastisement: In which vertue and diverse other, how farre the best excell, so farre in gluttonie and other hatefull crimes the vitious they are worse then too badde. They follow the dead corpes to the grave with howlings and barbarous out-cryes, pittyfull in apparance, whereof grew (as I suppose) the Proverbe, to weepe Irish. The uplandish are lightly abused to believe and avouche idle miracles and revelations vaine and childish, greedy of prayse they bee, and fearefull of dishonour. And to this end they esteeme their Poets who write Irish learnedly, and penne their sonnetts heroicall, for the which they are bountifully rewarded. But if they send out libells in disprayse, thereof the Gentlemen, especially the meere Irish, stand in great awe. They love tenderly their foster children, and bequeathe to them a childes portion, whereby they nourish sure friendshippe, so beneficiall every way, that commonly five hundredth kyne and better are given in reward to winne a noble mans childe to foster. They are sharpe-witted, lovers of learning, capable of any studie

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whereunto they bend themselves, constant in travaile, adventerous, intractable, kinde-hearted, secret in displeasure.

Hitherto the Irish of both sortes meere, and English, are affected much indifferently, saving that in these, by good order, and breaking the same, vertues are farre more pregnant. In those others, by licentious and evill custome, the same faults are more extreame and odious, I say, by licentious and evill custome, for that there is daylie tryall of good natures among them. How soone they bee reclaymed, and to what rare gifts of grace and wisedome, they doe and have aspired. Againe, the very English of birth, conversant with the brutish sort of that people, become degenerate in short space, and are quite altered into the worst ranke of Irish Rogues, such a force hath education to make or marre. It is further to bee knowne, that the simple Irish are utterly another people then our Englishe in Ireland, whome they call despitefully *boddai Sassoni's*, and *boddai Ghalt*, that is, English and Saxon churles, because of their English auncestors planted heere with the Conquest, and sithence with descent hath lasted now 400. yeares. Of this people therefore severally by themselves I must intreate. Yet none otherwise then as they stand anfiled, and serve their accustomed humours, with whome I joyne all such as either by living neere them, or by liking their trade are transformed into them.

CAP. VI.

Of the meere Irish.

TOUCHING the meere Irish, I am to advertise my Reader, that hee impute not to them the faults of their Auncestors, which heere I have noted for two causes. First, that when the same are reade in *Cambrensis*, *Solinus*, or others, he confounds not the times, but may be able distinctly to consider their manners, then different from these dayes. Secondly, that it may appeare how much Ireland is beholding to God for suffering them to be conquered, whereby many of these enormities were cured, and more might be, would themselves be plyable.

In some corners of the land they used a damnable superstition, leaving the right armes of their Infants males unchristened (as they tearmed it) to the intent it might give a more ungracious and deadly blow.

I found a fragment of an Epistle, wherein a vertuous Monke declareth, that to him (travailing in Vlster) came a grave Gentleman about Easter, desirous to be confessed and howseled, who in all his life time had never yet received the blessed Sacrament. When he had said his minde, the Priest demaunded him, whether he were faultlesse in the sinne of Homicide? Hee answered, that hee never wist the matter to bee haynous before, but being instructed there-

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of, hee confessed the murther of five, the rest hee left wounded, so as he knew not whether they lived or no. Then was he taught that both the one, and the other were execrable, and verie meekelie humbled himselfe to repentance.

Solinus writeth that they woonted (because they would seeme Terrible and Martiall,) to embrue their faces in the bloude of their Enemyes slaine. *Strabo* the famous Geographer, who flourished under *Augustus* and *Tiberius Cæsar*, more then fifteene hundred yeares agoe, telleth (without asseveration) that the Irish were great Gluttons, eaters of mans flesh: and counted it Honourable for Parents deceased, to bee eaten up of their Children, and that in open sight they medled with their Wiues, Mothers, and Daughters: which is the lesse incredible, considering what Saint *Hierome* avoucheth of the Scots their Offspring and Allies, and what all Histories doe witnesse of the Scithians their auncient founders. See *Strabo lib.* 4. *Geograph.*

Although since the time of Saint *Patricke*, Christianitie was never extinct in Ireland, yet the governement being hayled into contrarie factions, the Nobilitie lawlesse, the multitude willfull, it came to passe that Religion waxed with the temporall common sort eold and feeble, untill the Conquest did settle it, especiallie in cases of restrainte and Discipline. The Honourable state of Marriage they much abused,

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either in contracts, unlawfull meetings, the Levitticall and Canonicall degrees of prohibition, or in divorcementes at pleasure, or in ommitting Sacramentall solemnities, or in retayning either Concubines or Harlots for Wiues. Yea even at this day, where the Cleargie is fainte, they can bee content to Marrie for a yeare and a day of probation, and at the yeares end, to returne her home uppon any light quarrells, if the Gentlewomans friendes bee weake and unable to avenge the injurie. Never heard I of so many dispensations for Marriage, as those men shewe, I pray God graunt they bee all authentique and buylded uppon sufficient warrant.

Covenant and Indent with them never so warilie, never so preciselie, yet they have beene founde faithlesse and periured. Where they are joyned in colour of surest Amitie, there they intended to kill. This ceremonie reporteth *Cambrensis*. The parties to bee coupled in League, meete at Church, become Godseptes, or Allies, beare each other on his backe certaine paces in a Ring, kisse together holy reliquees, take blessing of the Bishoppe, offer each to other a droppe of his owne bloude, and drinke it up betweene them: Even in the doing hereof, they practise mutuall destruction.

They have beene used in solemne controversies, to protest and sweare by Saint *Patrickes* Staffe, called *Bachal esu*, which oath, because upon breach thereof

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heavy plagues ensued them, they feared more to breake, then if they had sworne by the holy Evangelist.

In Vlster thus they used to Crowne their King, a white cow was brought forth, which the King must kill, and seeth in water whole, and bathe himselfe therein starke naked, then sitting in the same Caldron, his people about him, together with them, he must eat the flesh, and drinke the broath, wherein he sitteth, without cuppe or dish or use of his hand. So much of their old Customes. Now a few words of their trade at this present.

Cleare men they are of Skinne and hue, but of themselves careleese and bestiall. Their Women are well fauoured, cleare coloured, faire handed, bigge and large, suffered from their infancie to grow at will, nothing curious of their feature and proportion of body.

Their infants of the meaner sort, are neither swadled, nor lapped in Linnen, but foulded up starke naked into a Blanket till they can goe, and then if they get a piece of ragge to cover them, they are well sped. Linnen shirts the rich doe weare for wantonnes and bravery, with wide hanging sleeves playted, thirtie yards are little enough for one of them. They have now left their Saffron, and learne to wash their shirts, foure or five times in a yeare. Proud they are

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of long crisped glibbes, and doe nourish the same with all their cunning: to crop the front thereof they take it for a notable peece of villany. Shamrotes, Water-cresses, Rootes, and other hearbes they feede upon: Oatemale and Butter they cramme together. They drinke Whey, Milke, and Beefe broth, Flesh they devoure without bread, corne such as they have they keepe for their horses. In haste and hunger they squese out the blood of raw flesh, and aske no more dressing thereto, the rest boyleth in their stomackes with Aquavitæ, which they swill in after such a surfeite, by quarts & pottles. Their kyne they let blood which growen to a jelly they bake and overspread with Butter, and so eate it in lumpes.

One office in the house of great men is a tale-teller, who bringeth his Lord on sleepe, with tales vaine and frivolous, whereunto the number give sooth and credence. So light they are in beleeving whatsoever is with any countenance of gravitie affirmed by their Superiours, whom they esteeme and honour, that a lewd Prelate within these few yeares needy of money, was able to perswade his parish: That S. *Patricke* in striving with S. *Peter* to let an Irish Galloglass into Heaven, had his head broken with the keyes, for whose releife he obtained a Collation.

Without either precepts or observation of congruity they speake Latine like a vulgar language, learned in their common Schooles of Leach-craft and Law,

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whereat they begin Children, and hold on sixteene or twentie yeares conning by roate the Aphorismes of *Hypocrates*, and the Civill Institutions, and a few other parings of those two faculties. I have seene them where they kept Schoole, ten in some one Chamber, groveling upon couches of straw, their Bookes at their noses, themselves lying flatte prostate, and so to chaunte out their lessons by peecemeale, being the most part lustie fellowes of twenty five yeares and upwards.

Other Lawyers they have, liable to certaine families which after the custome of the country determine and judge causes. These consider of wrongs offered and received among their neighbours, be it murder, or fellony, or trespasse, all is redeemed by composition, (except the grudge of parties seeke ravenge;) and the time they have to spare from spoyling and proyaing, they lightly bestow in parling about such matters. The Breighoon (so they call this kind of Lawyer) sitteth him downe on a banke, the Lords and Gentlemen at variance round about him, and then they proceede.

They honour devoute Fryars and Pilgrimes, suffer them to passe quietly, spare them and their mansions, whatsoever outrage they shew to the country besides them. To robbe and prey their enemies, they deeme it none offence, nor seeke any meanes to recover their losse, but even to watch them the like turne. But if

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neighbours and friends send their Caters to purloyne one another, such Actions are judged by the Breighoones aforesaid.

Toward the living they are noysome and malicious, the same being dead they labour to avenge eagerly and fiercely. They love and trust their Foster Brethren more then their owne. *Turlogh Leinagh Oneale* that now usurpeth, is said to repose in them his greatest surety.

Strumpets are there too vile and abominable to write of, which not onely without feare, but also without remorse doe advance themselves in numbring what noblemen have had liking to their bodies. Hee that can bring most of his name into the field, base or other, triumpheth exceedingly. For increase of which name, they allow themselves not onely whoores, but also choise & store of whoores. One I heard named which hath (as he calleth them) more then ten wives, in twentie places.

There is among them a brother-hood of Carrowes that professe to play at Cards all the yeare long, and make it their onely occupation. They play away Mantle and all to the bare skinne, and then trusse themselves in strawe or in leaves, they waite for passengers in the high way, invite them to a game upon the greene, and aske no more but companions to hold them sport, for default of other stuffe they pawne

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portions of their glibbe, the nailes of their fingers and toes, their privie members; which they lose or redeeme at the curtesie of the winner.

Where they fancie and favour, they are wonderfull kinde, they exchange by commutation of weares for the most part, and have utterly no coyne stirring in any great Lords houses. Some of them be richly plated: their Ladies are trimmed rather with massie Iewels, then with garish apparell, it is counted a beautie in them to be tall, round and fat.

The inheritance descendeth not to the Sonne, but to the Brother, Nephew, or Cousin germaine eldest and most valiant: for the Childe being oftentimes left in nonage or otherwise young and unskillfull, were never able to defend his patrimonie, being his no longer then he can hold it by force of armes. But by that time he grow to a competent age, and have buryed an Vncle or two, he also taketh his turne, and leaveth it in like order to his Posterity. This custome breedeth among them continuall Warres and treasons.

CAP. VII.

The most auncient Inhabitants of Ireland.

THE honourable Historian *Titus Livius*, yeeldeth certaine priviledge to antiquitie, and will have it

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held excused, if percase for advancement of their Citties, they straine a point of truth, and derive a first foundation from one or other, of their supposed Gods: wherefore though I can no lesse doe then reject a fable concerning the arrivall of *Noes* Neece into this Island, yet this kinde of forgery being somewhat universall, seeing every Chronicler paineth himselfe to fetch his reckoning with the farthest let him hardly be pardoned, who led by relation of his elders, committed first to writing so dull a tale. As for the multitude of writers that agree thereon, they are in effect but one writer, seeing the latest ever borrowed of the former, and they all of *Cambrensis*, who affirmeth it not, but onely alleadgeth the received opinion of Irish Histories, yea rather in the foote of that Chapter, he seemeth to mistrust it, and posteth it over to the credit of his authors: so then if the greatest weight hereof doe consist in Irish antiquities, which the learned here confesse to be stuffed with such implements, notoriously felt to be vaine and frivolous, I trust I shall not seeme contentious, nor singular in damning such a fable, not onely false, but also impossible. Thus they say, In the yeare of the world, 1536. The Patriarch *Noe* began to preach vengeance upon the people for their accursed lives, to builde his Arke, to enforme his kindred and speciall friends severally, that within few yeares the earth should be sunke in waters, if they amended not. This did he before the generall flood one hundred and twentie yeares, when every man foreslept the monition, onely a Neece

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of his named *Cesara* misdoubting the worst, and hearing her Vncle prophesie that all should be drowned for sinne, determined with her adherents, to seeke aduentures into some forraine Island, perswaded that if shee might happely finde a Countrie never yet inhabited, and so with sinne undefiled, the generall sentence of Gods anger should there take no place. Whereupon she furnished a navy, and fled into Ireland, with three men, *Bithi*, *Laigria*, *Fintan*, and fifty women, left vnto her after many shipwrackes. The shore where she landed, & where she lyeth entombed, is at this day called *Navicularum littus*. The very stones wherein the memorie hereof hath beene preserved from the violence of waters, were said to be seene of some. Within forty dayes after her footing in Ireland, the deluge prevailed universally, and all this coast was cast away. g. Now to ommit that part of this device, which is too flat, and ridiculous; if we consider that before the flood, no part of the Earth was knowen, nor touched beside Syria, h where the first age dwelled; that sailing was then utterly vnheard of in the world, the first vessell being by Gods owne direction wrought, that she might have sped at home, would she repent with more ease and surety, that *Iapheth* with the Hebrewes, and *Iason* with the Greekes, were the first pilots: that the Records hereof graven in stone, is but a borrowed invention from *Iosephus*. These things I say consi-

g An. Dom. 1656.

h Rab. Isaac. in Gen. 5.

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dered, it wilbe no hard matter to descry the falshood, wherin I would be more exquisite, were it worth my labour. We need not so ambitiously runne to *Cesara*, to begge a forged evidence, seeing without her helpe, Ireland must be confessed to have been knowne and peopled with the same kinred, even with the first Ilands of the world. For within three hundred yeares after the generall Floud, immediately after the confusion of tongues, when *Iapheth* and his posterity, imboldened by the example of *Noe*, adventured by ship into divers West Ilands, [i] there was in his retinew one of his pregeny, *Bastolenus*, who conceiving stomack and courage at the late successe of *Nemrodus*, *Ninus* his kinsman (then newly intruded upon the Monarch of Assyria) & wandred so farre West, intending to rule without compeeres, till Fortune cast him and his people upon the coast of Ireland. [k] There he settled with his three sonnes, *Languinus*, *Salanus*, *Ruthurgus*, active and stout gentlemen, who searching the Land through & through, left their owne names by three notable places, *Languini stagnum*, *mons Salangi*, since named S. *Dominicks* hill, and *Ruthurgi stagnum*. Of *Bastolenus* is little remembred, save that in short space with many hands working at once, he plained a great part of the Country, then overgrown with woods and thickets. This posterity kept the Land under the

[i] Anno mundi 1957. after the best authors, which make 300. yeares, and not 100. between Noes floud and Babell.

[k] Bastolenus. Clem. recogit. l. 4.

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government of these three sonnes & their off-spring, about 300. yeares. Together with *Bastolenus*, arrived in Ireland certaine godlesse people of the stocke of *Nemrod*, worthily tearmed a gyant, as one that in bodily shape exceeded proportion, & used his strength to winne soveraigntie, & to oppresse the vveake with rapine and violence: That linage (*Chams* breed) grevv to great numbers, & alvvay bethought them of getting mastery, vvheresoever they tarryed. One cause vvas their bodily force ansvverable to their hugenesse of quantity:[1] another the example of *Cham Zoroastes*, that magitian, and *Nemrodus*, *Ninus* his Nephew, which two in themselves and their progenies, were renowned throughout the world, as victorious Princes over two mighty Kingdomes Ægypt and Assyria. Thirdly they maligned the blessings bestowed upon *Sem* and *Iapheth*, counting it necessary for themselves, to stirre, and prevent Dominions, lest the curse of slavery prophesied by *Noe* should light upon them, as notwithstanding it did at last.

Thus irked, they began to kicke at their Governours, and taking head, set up a King of their owne faction, nourishing the same, and annoying the Subjects incessantlie, the successe on both sides was variable, quarrels increased, the enemie caught handfast, & every day bred a new skirmish. It seemed intolerable, & very necessity compelled them to try their whole force

[1] Clem. recognit. l. 4.

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in one Battle, either utterly to weede out the Gyants, or to die free. Peace therefore concluded among themselves, for any private grudge hitherto maintayned, all sorts brake truce and amity with the Gyants, and straited them up so, that from all corners of the land, they must needes assemble into one field and fight for the better, maynelie they tugged certaine houres, but in conclusion the lawfull Kings prevayled, the miscreants done to death. See now the mockery of Fortune, Victors they were, and promised themselves a security. Anger & insolencie over-turned all, for what with spoiling the dead carcases, what with murthering the remaynder of that generation, man, woman, and childe, in all parts of the Realme, vouchsafing them no buryall, but casting them out like a sort of dead dogges, [m] there ensued through the stench of those carryons such a mortall pestilence, infecting not onely the places where they lay, but the ayre round about by contagion, that beside those few which by sea returned homeward, few escaped alive, and heereby hangeth a tale, From this plague (say the Irish) was preserved *Ruanus* the Gyant, who from time to time kept true record of their histories, else utterly done away by sundry casualties of death, warre, spoyle, fire, forraine victories, and he (forsooth) continued till the yeare of Christ 430. and told S. *Patrick* all the newes of the country requiring of him to bee baptized, and so died, when he had lived no more but two thousand and forty

[m] Anno mundi 2257.

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one yeares: which is above twice the age of *Methusalem*. Had it beene my chaunce in Ireland, to meete & conferre with this noble Antiquarie, hee might have eased me of much travell. These things I note for no other purpose, but that the simple stumbling upon such blinde legends should be warned to esteeme them as they are, idle fantasies, wherewith some of their Poets, dallyed at the first, and after through error and rudenes it was taken up for a sad matter.

CAP. VIII.

The severall Inhabitants of Ireland from Bastolenus.

OF an infinite number of Gyants slaine, certaine hid families lurked and escaped the common mischiefe, whom at length penury constrayned to forsake their dennes, and to pilfer for meate, when they perceived the murraine of men and beasts, and that none gave them resistance, they waxed hardie, & searching the land, found it wel-nigh desolate, wherefore they harboured themselves in the clearest coast: and easily subduing the poore soules remaining, revived their blood, and became Lords of the whole Iland 60. yeares.

Among the Sonnes of *Iapheth*, Genesis recounteth *Magog* who had now planted his people in Scithia within Tanaris, from whom at this day the Turkes are descended. They hearing the hard happe of their

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fathers lyne, cast out by the collaterall braunches of *Cham*, the late King of the Bactrians,[n] their odious neighbours, sent into Ireland *Nemodus* with his foure sonnes, *Starius*, *Gerbavel*, *Amimus*, *Fergusius*, captaines over a faire company, who passing by Greece and there taking up such as would seeke fortunes, finally landed here, held the country, multiplyed, but not without continuall warre upon the Gyants aforesaid, who in th'end vanquished and chased them thence againe into Greece, after 216. yeares, from Anno mundi 2533. from which time untill the comming of *Dela* his sonnes, the Gyants possessed it peaceably without forreine invasion. But themselves being disordered, and measuring all things by might, seditiously vexed each other, nor were they ever able to frame a commonwealth.

That espyed five brethren, sonnes to *Dela* the Grecian,[o] notorious Pilots, named *Gaudius*, *Genandius*, *Sagandius*, *Rutheragius*, *Slanius*, the posterity of *Nemodus* expulsed successors, who fortified their navyes, and finding the Countrey but weake, wanne it entirely, rooted out the old enemy, divided the Iland into five parts, & in each of them severally raigned, for better contentation of all sides, they agreed to fixe a meare stone in the middle point of Ireland, to which stone every of their Kingdomes should extend, and be

[n] Anno Mundi 2317.

[o] Ann. mundi 1714.

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partakers of the commodities then chiefly found in that soile. These are also supposed to have invented the distribution of shires into Cantredes, every Cantrede or Barony, containing an hundred Townеships, wherewith the name and use of hundreds, well knowne in England, might seeme to accord.

Variance for the chiefty set the foure brethren at a lovve ebbe, and then *Slanius* perched over them all, encroached every way round about the middle stone certaine miles for provision and furniture of his owne houshold, which plot in time obtained the name of one generall part, and now maketh up the fift, *Media*. Meth it was called either for moytie of Cantredes, being but sixteene, vvhereas the rest comprised thirty tvvo apeece, or for the site thereof in the navell of Ireland. This hee assigned to the Monarch a surplus over and above his Inheritance, vvhich notvvithstanding grevv to a severall Kingdome, and allovved thereof certaine parts by composition. Not long after dyed *Slanius*, & vvas buried in a mountaine of Meth that carrieth his name. Thirty yeares the Monarchy vvas possessed in this order, but shortly the Princes ovving fealty, beganne to stomack the Intrusion of *Slanius*, & vvhen he vvas once rid, they disdained his successour, whereupon ensued everlasting Battels. The Monarchy was laide downe, then fell they at debate for the land of Meth, which strife could never be appeased. In the necke of those troubles came over a new army of Scithians, who claymed also from *Nemodus* their fore-

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father, and they tooke parts, and made parts, set all in uproare with sword, and havocke. P To be short, they spent themselves one upon another so fiercely and furiously, that now they reckoned not what nation or what souldiour they received in, to keepe up or beate downe a side. By which occasion the Britaines also put in a foot, who discovering the state of the land to their Princes, opened a gappe for *Brennus* the brother of *Belinus*, to direct his course thither vvith the same Navy vvhich he had furnished to serve *Signimius* then King of Lyons amid the Galles in France. But *Brennus* took small effect. Before him also divers Kings of Brittaine had scope in Ireland. Insomuch that *Gurguntius* the sonne of *Beline*, reputed the same by lineall descent among his ovvne Dominions. Notvvithstanding they never iujoyed it longer then they could keepe possession perforce, and often vvere they repelled and vvearyed vvith seeking after it, as vvherein they found small fruite, and blovves enough. Lastly came the Spaniards from Biscaye, conducted by foure Captaines, of vvhose arryvall before I speake, I must repeate their originall somevvhat farther, and so give a light to the assoyling of a controversie, that is, vvhether the Irish came from Ægypt, or from Spaine. It shall appeare they came from both.

P Ann. mundi 2800.

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CAP. IX.

The arrivall of the Spaniards, then called Iberians, into Ireland.

IN the yeare of the World 2436.[q] after the universall floud 780. while the children of Israell served in Ægypt, *Gathelus* the sonne of *Neale*, a great Lord in Greece, was upon disfavour exiled the Country with a number of his faction, adherents, and friends. The young Greeke being very wise, valiant and well spoken,[r] got honourable entertainement with *Pharao* surnamed *Amænophis* king of Ægypt, and in short space reached to such a credit that he espoused the Kings base Daughter *Scota*, whereof the Scotts are thought to be named. This match bred to the King some tumult, and to the young Gentle-man much envy, wherefore assoone as the foresaid *Amænophis*[s] was drowned in the Red Sea, the Princes of Ægypt so vexed *Gathelus* and his wife, that they were faine to buske them, withall their traine into Europe, and came first to Lusitania, where diverse of his people tyred with travaile, would needs abide, he builded there the city of Brigantia, called afterwards Novium,

[q] Hoctor Boeth. l. 1. Hist. Scot.

[r] Ioh. Major. de gestis Scot. lib. I. cap. 9.

[s] Exod. 14.

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now Compostella.[t] The remnant passed with him into Ireland, where the Barbarians highly honoured him, for his cunning in all languages, who also greatly perfected and beautified the Irish tongue, taught them letters, sought up their antiquities, practised their youth in martiall feates, after his Greeke and Ægyptian manner. Finally so well he pleased them that to gratifie such a Benefactour, they were content to name the Iland after him Gathelia, and after his wife Scotia. Truely that Scotia is the auncient appellation of Ireland, all Chroniclers agree, as it shalbe more plaine, when wee touch the Scottish pedigree. A brute there is in Ireland but uncertainelie fathered, that in remembrance of *Pharao*, their good lord, the Kerne pitching his Dart, cryeth of courage *faro, faro;* but the learned thinke that to bee taken from the Spaniard, who in his *Ioco dicano* exclaymeth *fabo, fabo.*

The people left in the coast of Spaine, founded the city of Bayon, now part of Gascoigne, and replenished all the shore towards Africk,[u] and the edges of Portugall, Castile, Galæcia, towardes the sea Cantabricum, well nigh 200. yeares, after which time some of them began to minde another travaile, because they were pestered with Inhabitants, and whether they ever sped to Ireland, it is unknowne, at the

[t] Hector. Boeth. lib. 1.

[u] Ann. mundi 2642.

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leastwise in the raigne of *Gurguntius* the Brittaine, then chiefe Lord of Bayon, foure brethren Spaniards, whereof two are noted, *Hiberus* and *Hirimon*, not the sonnes of *Gathelus* (as writeth *Boethius*) but his off-spring, understanding that divers Western Ilands were empty, desirous to live in ease and elbovv-room, sayled Westvvard vvith a great retinue of men,[v] vvomen and babes, hovering long about the Ilands Orchades in 60. great ships, untill by good hap they met vvith *Gurguntius*, then returning from the conquest of Denmarke,[w] vvho had refused to pay him the tribute, vvhich *Belinus* his father vvan, him they besought[x] (considering their vvant of victuals, unable any longer to dvvell in their ships, accumbred vvith carriage of vvomen & children) to direct & further them to some place of habitation, proffering to become his liege people to hold the same of him & his heires for ever. The King advising himselfe, remembred vvith vvhat difficultie he kept the Irish in subjection, & conceived hope that these strangers vvould endeavor either to stub out that unruly generation, or to nurture them, & so taking their oathes and hostages,[y] he mann'd their ships, stored them vvith victuall & munition, & seated them in Ireland. Thus

[v] The head Captaine was Bartholomew, as many Authors affirme.

[w] Fab. part. 2.

[x] Grafton. p. 60.

[y] Ann. mundi 3592.

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had the Brittaines an elder right to the Realme of Ireland, then by the conquest of *Henry* the 2. vvhich title they never surceased to claime, & sometimes prevailed, as in the dayes of King *Arthur*, to vvhom the Irish Princes agnized their tribute and apparance, made at his Parliament in *urbe Legionum*, vvhich I take to be Westchester, called of old Carleon, as divers other cities vvere, vvherein the Romanes placed the legions. Again the Kings of Britain vvere then Lords of the place vvhence this people came, so as their vvinnings must have beene the Kings Dominion.

To all this when their owne free assent, the dedition of other Princes, lawfull conquest and prescription is adjoyned, it forceth an invincible title. But to prosecute our purpose. Those Iberians being substantially ayded of *Gurguntius*, enjoyed the Lands, bestowed themselves foure brethren into foure parts thereof, untill their pride and ambition armed two against other two, *Hiberus* and his brother against *Hirimon* and his. In this conflict *Hirimon* slew *Hiberus*, and raigned quietly. At this time the countrey was first named *Ibernia*, as I have declared in the third Chapter. The King to avoyde obloquie and slaunder, purged himselfe to his subjects, that neither maliciously nor contentiously, but for his necessary defence and safeguard he had borne armes against his brother. And to witnesse how farre he was from desire to rule alone, he nominated speciall Captaines to be Kings

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under him of their severall Countryes, reserving to himselfe but one fourth part, and the portion of Meth allotted to the Monarchie for the better maintenance of his part.

These afterward clambered into five Kingdomes incompatible, Leinster, Connaght, Vlster, Mounster in two portions, and sometimes to more by usurpations and compositions, but ever one was elected the Monarch over all.

An hundred and thirtie chiefe Kings are reckoned of this Nation from *Hirimon* to *Laigirus* the sonne of *Neahus magnus*, in whose time the blessed Bishop *Patricius* converted them to Christianity.

CAP. X.

The comming of the Picts into Ireland. [z]

NOW lived the Irish in tollerable order under their sundry Kings, [a] and applyed themselves to peace and gathering of wealth, when suddainely *Rodericke* a Red-shank of Scythia fled thither with a small company of Galleyes, and winde-driven in compassing round about the British coast, were happely blowne

[a] An. Dom. 120.

[z] Bed. l. 1. c. 1.

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ashore into Ireland. These are the Picts, a people from their cradle dissentious, land-leapers, mercilesse, sowre and hardy, being presented to the King, they craved Interpreters,[b] which granted, *Roderick* their Chieftaine uttered for him and his, the request in this manner.

Not as degenerate from the courage of our anncestors, but inclining our selves to the bent and swaye of fortune, we are become suppliants to Ireland, that never before have humbled our selves to any, Looke Sir King, eye us well, It is not light prowesse that hath caused these valiant bodies to stoop. Scithians we are, and the Picts of Scithia, great substance of glory lodgeth in these two names, what shall I tell of the civill Tumult that hath made us leave our home? or rippe up old Historyes to make strangers bemoane us? Let our vassailes and children discourse it at large and leysure, if perhaps you vouchsafe us any leysure in the Land: To which effect and purpose your infinite necessities pray your favours, A King of a King, Men of Men, Princes can consider how neere it concerneth their honour and surety to proppe up the state of a King defaced by Treason, and men will remember nothing better beseemeth the nature of man, then to feele by compassion the griefes of men. Admit we beseech you these scattered reliques of Scithia, If your Realmes bee narrow, we are not many. If the

[b] Ioh. Maior. de gest. Scot. l. 1. c. 10.

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soyle be barren, we are born to hardnesse. If you live in peace, we are your subjects. If you warre, we are your Souldiours. We aske no kingdome, no wealth, no triumph in Ireland. We have brought our selves, and left these casualtyes with the enemie. Howsoever it like you to esteeme of us, we shall easily learne to like it, when we call to minde, not what we have beene, but what we are.

Great consultations was had upon this request, and many things debated too and fro. In the end they were answered, that their antiquities layde forcible arguments, wherefore it could not be expedient to accept the Scithians into Ireland, that mingling of nations in a Realme breedeth quarrels remedilesse, that Ireland finding scarcity rather of roome then of people, that those few inferred amongst a many might quickly disturbe and put the whole out of joynt. But quoth they, though wee may not dwell together yet shall you finde us your very good neighbours and friends. Not farre hence lyeth the Iland of Brittaine, in the north thereof: your manhood and polycies shall winne you scope enough, our Captaines shall conduct you the way, our strength shall helpe to settle you, addresse your shippes and hye you thither. With this perswasion they shaped course towards the north of Brittaine, now called Scotland, where contrary to all expectation *Marius* the King awayted their comming, and gave

— Iohn Stow.

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them there a sharpe battle, wherein *Rodericke* was slaine, with diverse of his band. Them which remained and appealed to mercy, he licensed to inhabite the uttermost borders of Scotland: Wives they wanted to encrease their Issue, and because the Brittaines scorned to match their daughters with such a froward and beggerly people, the Picts continued their first acquaintance with the Irish and by entreaty obtained wives from them, conditionally that if the Crowne should happe to fall in question they should then yeeld thus much prerogative to the woman as of the female blood royall, rather then of the male to choose their Prince, which Covenant, saith S. *Beide*,[d] the Picts are well knowne to keepe at this day.

But long afore this time the Scottish Chronicles mention the arrivall of Almaine Picts into the marches now of England and Scotland, vvith whom certaine Irish called then also Scotts joyned against the Brittaines,[e] devising to erect a kingdome there, aswell to fortify themselves, as to gratifie the Irish, who detracting their obedience lately promised to *Gurguntius*, practised all they might to abridge the kingdome of the Brittaines. First therefore came from Ireland, *Fergusius* the sonne of *Ferchardus*, a man very famous for his skill in blasoning of armes.[f] Himselfe bare the

[d] Bede lived an. Dom. 730.

[e] Anno Mundi 5757. ante Christum 330.

[f] Ioh. Major. lib. 2. cap. 1.

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Red Lyon rampant in a golden field. There was in Ireland a monument of Marble fashioned like a Throne, which *Simon Brecke* a companion to *Hiberus* and his brethren found in the journey, & because he deemed the finding thereof to be ominous to some Kingdome, he brought it along with him, and layde it up in the country for a Iewell. This marble *Fergusius* obtained towards the prospering of his voyage, and in Scotland he left it, which they used many yeares after in Coronation of their King at Scona. But *Fergusius* though he be scored in the row of Kings, for one, and the first, yet he held himselfe there obscurely, sundry times beat backe into Ireland, where he was finallie drowned by misfortune within the Creeke of Knockfergus. That *Fergusius* encountred with *Coilus* the Brittaine and slew him, as writeth the Scotts, it is impossible except they mistake the name of *Coilus* for *Calius*, with whom indeede the age of *Fergusius* might well meete, and the rather for that in the first yeare of his raigne, the Picts entred, and then *Fergusius* immediately after them, 330. yeares ere Christ was borne. Now *Coilus* raigned in the yeare of our Lord, 124. about which time befell the second arrivall of the Picts in Brittaine, so it seemeth they mistake by a slight error, *Coilus* for *Calius*, and the second arrivall of the Picts, for the former. This confusion of Histories is learnedly noted by *Cooper* in his generall collection of Chronicles.

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CAP. XI.

How the Irish setled themselves in Scotland.

RETURNE wee now to the course of our Historie, while the Picts were bestowed in the north of Brittaine and waxed populous, & the Irish made sundry arrands over to visite their Daughters, Nephewes, and kindred. In often comming and going, they noted waste places, and little Ilands not replenished, but rather neglected and suffered to grow wilde. Hereof in Ireland they advertised their Prince, namely *Reuther* or *Rheuda*, who being the Issue of *Fergusius*, bethought himselfe of his interest to certaine peeces of land beside the nation of the Picts. Hee therefore well appointed, partly by composition, and some deale perforce stepped into those hamlets which no man occupied, & proceeded handsomely to reare his kingdome. By little and little he edged forward, and got betweene the Picts and Brittaines on this side the Scottish banke, which he possessed but a season. The place was thereof named Rheudisdale, now Riddesdale, (asmuch to say, as the part of *Rheudâ*) for *dahal* in their language, signifieth part. In those quarters after sundry conflicts with the borderers, hee was by them slaine, but the kingdome lasted in his successours still, and the two nations the Picts and the Irish lovingly suffered each other to thrive. The Scotts caught up the Islands &

* An. Dom. 160. Ioh. Major. l. 1. cap. 11. Bed. l. 1. c. 1.

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the Frontiers. The Picts dwelt in the middle: Soone after the peace betweene them, vvent suspitions & the diversities of people, place, custome, language, vvith the memorie of old grudges stirred up such inward jealousies and hate, that it seemed they were easie to kindle, & as in such factions, there never wanted drifte to drive a tumult, so it happened that certaine of the Nobilitie of the Scotts resciant next them had with some difficultie, received out of Greece a Molossian Hound, [h] which breede both in swiftnesse of foote, and and in sweetnesse of opening, was reputed peerelesse.

This Hound, a willfull Gentleman, a Pict, stole home, and therewith gratified his Prince, glad of the novelty, and little thoughtfull of the displeasure.[i] Contrarywise the Irish, wood for anger at this dishonour, and injury, assembled in poste haste under *Eugenius* their King, and after brawling, fell to spoyle, and so to blowes; whereof parts and stomackes being even, the fortune was variable [k] In this division they scambled out a few yeares, untill the malice of *Carassus* a Brittaine forced a quietnesse betweene them to abuse their helpe against th' Empire. But hee was shortly shaine by *Alectus* the Romane Captaine, and hereupon the old sore waxed rawe: To heape the mischiefe, a Brittish Lord named *Maximus*, aspiring

[h] Ioh. Major. de gest. Scot. l. 5. c. 10.

[i] Lucan. li. 5.

[k] An. Dom. 218.

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to the kingdome, sent an ambassadge to *Ethodius* king of Picts, pleading with him a league of friendship, utterly to expulse the Irish Scot: conditioning withall their assistance to chase the Romanes out of Brittaine, which was concluded, and by this confederacie, after many lamentable skirmishes, the Irish were betrayed, *Eugenius* the King, *Ethai* his brother, and *Ericus* his nephew, and also the residue, such as could escape the enemies sword, fled thence, some into Norway, some into Ireland their first home.

Maximus[l] watching his time, despairing of the Brittish Kingdome, and espying the Picts tyred with continuall vvarres, turned his povver upon them, and brought them to such an exigent, that they had no readier shift then to crave helpe from Ireland,[m] and so by degrees vvhen some private persons, nourishers of the quarrell, vvere out-vvorne, the matter of malice vvas qualified, and the remnant of the Irish Scots, vvith their friends and off-spring called home to their dvvelling, after their first banishment, 43. yeares expired.

From this time[n] forvvard the amity vvaxed steddy, and the Irish under *Fergusius* the second their King vvan such credit, that finally the nation of Picts vvere afflicted by the Brittaines, then the Scots incroched

[l] An. Dom. 353.

[m] Io. Maior. li. 2. c. 3.

[n] An. Dom. 398.

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into the heart of the Realme, and became the mightier and more populous, of vvhom the Countrey vvas ever since under one Generall name called Scotland.

Thus you see the Scotts a lively, stirring, ancient, & victorious people,[o] are mixed first of Brittaines, (though the Chronicles dissemble it) whom *Brutus* planted there with *Albanactus:* Secondly, of Picts: Thirdly and chiefly, of the Irish, which after this time left the name of Scott, for those in Brittaine, and delighted rather to be called Irish. Then came up the distinction of *Scotia major* for Ireland, and *Scotia minor* for the Scotts in Brittaine.

But most effectually (as saith *Cambrensis*) the Scotts prevayled under the guiding of six valiant Gentlemen, Sonnes to *Muridus* King of Vlster, who in the time that *Neale* the great enjoyed the monarchy of Ireland, going to succour their countrymen there, at last also tooke up for themselves no little portions of ground, which their posterity kept in *Cambrensis* time, the yeare of Christ 1200. who treateth their exploits more largely in his Topography of Ireland. Ever since then, they were utterly named and esteemed Scotts: [p] The nation of the Picts driven into corners, albeit the most parts & the out Isles retaine at this day a people [q]

[o] An. Dom. 423.

[p] Ioh. Major. l. 1. cap. 10.

[q] Pol. l. 1. Angl. hist.

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mungrell betwixt both, called Redshanks. The Scotts write that their King *Gregorious*, in an. Dom. 875. invaded Ireland as his lawfull inheritance, and the same conquered, who lieth buried in one of their out-Iles, called Iona, beautified with the Sepultures of Scottish Kings, where the Irish tongue is their native language, & therefore they call the submission of the Irish to Henry the 2. a defection from Scotland, which neverthelesse they recke, ne regard not, but willfully did forgoe it, as reaping lesse then they expended, and unable to defray the growing charge, which cost considered little better then nothing, say they, the King of England winneth by keeping of Ireland. Yet in the late governement of S. *Henry Sidney*, Vlster being conveyed by discent, & act of Parliament to the Crowne, which Earledome was in the time of *Edward* the third reckoned at thirty one thousand markes yearely, the same being but one fift part of Ireland, It seemeth that if this right be well prosecuted that Ireland might pay it selfe of necessaries, and yeeld sufficient benefit to the Princes Coffers.

CAP. XII.

The conversion of the Irish to Christianity.

ABOUT this time,[r] Holy Church being stayed in peace, enriched with possessions, supported with autho-

[r] An. Dom. 426.

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rity, many noble Clearkes flourishing in diverse Realmes, the Holy Doctor *Augustine* yet in life: *Theodosius* the second, suppressing Idols in all the Empyre:[s] *Celestinus* 1. Bishop of Rome, conferred with his cleargy touching the instruction specially of the vvestern parts, wherein the faith of Christ was hitherto, either not planted, or by persecution extinct, or by corruption of Hereticks defaced: of them all, no country was more lamented then Ireland, which partly for distance from the heart of Christendome, partly for their infinite rudenesse, had yet received no fruit of true Religion. In that assembly was *Palladius* Arch-Deacon of Rome, a good Priest and well learned, who profered his charitable travaile towards the conversion of any of those lands, whither he should be by them directed and appointed. The Pope knowing the sufficiency of the man, did consecrate *Palladius* a Bishop,[t] authorized his journey, furnished his wants, associated to him, diverse religious persons, delivered him the Holy Bible, with great solemnities, and certaine monuments of *Peter* and *Paul*, whereat diverse miracles had beene shewed. He arryved in the North of Ireland, whence he escaped hardly with his life, into the Ilands adjoyning, there preaching and converting many, erecting monasteries, and ensueing his vocation so painefully, that the onely report of his holynesse and cunning, excited the Scotts (late christ-

[s] Nicephor. l. 14. cap. 40. Plat in Cælestin. 1.

[t] Vita 5. Patricij.

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ened, but abiding in scisme, and committing the function of Bishoppes to single Preists,) to call him thither, whereunto he assented, upon the Popes answere, and leaving his Disciples in the Isle, became the speciall apostle of Scotland, where he spent the residue of his time, with more fruite then among the Irish.[u] Hereunto *Celestinus*[v] condiscended the easier, for that in the very point of *Palladius* his departure, *Patricius* attended at Rome to bee sent with leave and benediction into Ireland. In which attempt hee found such joyfull successe, so farre different from their accustomed frowardnesse, that a man would weene the Realme had beene reserved for him. And because it pleased God to worke to the Land such an universall benefite by the meanes of this holy Patriarch, I take it convenient to set downe briefly here his course of life, after the most approoved Chronicles that I could finde.

Patricius[w] was borne in the marches of England and Scotland, in a sea towne called then Taburnia, whose father *Calphrune* (as writeth *Ioseline*) was a Deacon and a Priests sonne, his mother *Conches* was sister to S. *Martin*, the famous Bishoppe of Toures in France. The childe was from his cradle brought up in the Faith, and much given to devotion.

[u] Ioh. Major. l. 2, cap. 2.

[v] Prosp. Aquit. in Chron.

[w] The life of S. Patrick.

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Novv vvere the Irish through the helpe of the Scots and Picts, arch-pirats of the narrovv seas, and used to sacke litle vveake villages scattered along the shore, and for vvant of other prey, to bring the Inhabitants home Captives, vvith others also vvas taken this *Patricius*, [x] a ladde of sixteene yeares olde, being then a student of secular learning, [y] and became the Villaine of an Irish Lord called *Mackbiam*, from vvhom after sixe yeares hee redeemed himselfe vvith a peece of gold vvhich hee found in a clod of earth, nevvly turned up by the svvyne hee kept the time of his Banishment (as affliction commonly maketh men religious.) This vvith the regard of his former education, printed in him such remorse and humility, that being from thenceforth utterly vveaned from the vvorld, hee betooke himselfe to contemplation, ever lamenting the lacke of grace and truth in that Land, vvherefore not despairing, but that in continuance, some good might bee vvrought upon them, hee learned their tongue perfectly, and alluring one companion vvith him for his exercises, he departed thence into France, ever casting backe his eye to the conversion of Ireland, vvhose babes yet unborn, seemed to him in his dream (from out their mothers vvombes) to call for Christendome. In this purpose he sought out *Martinus* his Vncle, by vvhose meanes the yong man entred under the government of *Germanus* then Bishop of Antisiodore, vvhose scholler and familiar he

[x] Ex Epist. Patricij.

[y] An. Dom. 386.

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vvas forty yeares, bestovving all that time in prayer and study of eloquence and holy Scriptures. Then at the age of threescore and two yeares, being renowned through the Latine Church for his wisdome, vertue, and skill, hee came home to Rome, recommended with letters from the French Bishops, to Pope *Celestine*, [z] to whom he uttered his full mind, and the secret vow which long since he had conceived touching Ireland. The Pope invested him Archbishop and Primate of the whole Iland, blessed him, commaunded publique prayer and fasting, brought him and his disciples onward on the voyage. Therefore in the tvventie third yeare of *Theodosius* the younger, which was the yeare of our Lord 430. *Patricke* landed in Ireland: and because he spake the tongue plentifully, being a reverent personage, he tooke holy Bible, adding thereto diverse miracles in the Name & vertue of IESUS whom he preached: many listened unto him, namely such as in the late entertainement of *Palladius* and *Albius* the Irish Bishops his Disciples, had some little feeling in the Gospell. In continuance, hee wanne the better part of that Kingdome, except *Laigirus* himselfe sonne of *Neale* the great Monarch, who (notvvithstanding hee relyed nothing to the Gospell yet) because hee stopped not the course thereof, nor forbid any that list to embrace it, the Bishop denounced to him a curse from God, accordingly tempered vvith mercy and judgement, that during his life hee should bee victorious, but after him, neither the Kingdome should stand, nor

[z] An. Dom. 430.

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his linage inherite. Thence hee journeyed vvith a great number of his Disciples and friends to *Conill* Lord of Connaght, (vvho honourably reputed him, and vvith all his people vvas converted) and then sent him to *Logan* his Brother, King of Leinster, vvhom hee likevvise persvvaded. In Mounster he vvas highly honoured of the Earle of Daris, vvho gave him a dwelling in the East angle of Ardmagh, called Secta, where hee erected many Celles and Monasteries, replenished with votarious men and women. Thirty yeares continually hee travailed in preaching through the Land, ever leaving behinde him Bishops and Priests, whose learning and holinesse by the speciall grace of God shortly repaired the faith so begunne, other thirty yeares hee spent in his Province of Ardmagh among his ghostly brethren, in visitation of those religious Houses, which by his meanes were founded, [a] so hee lived in the whole one hundred twentie two yeares, and lyeth buried in Downe.

CAP. XIII.

Of Saint Patrickes Purgatory.

EVERY History of Ireland that I have seene, maketh one severall title *De mirabilibus Hiberniæ*, and therein with long processe treateth of severall Ilands, some

[a] An. Dom. 492.

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full of Angels, some full of devils, some for male only, some for female, some where poore may live, some where none can dye: finally such effects of waters, stones, trees, and trinkets, that a man would vveene them to be but heedlesse and uncertaine tales by their complexion.

Verily, being inquisitive of these matters, I could finde no one of them soothed by such persons upon whose relation I am disposed to venture. Onely the place behinde Ardmagh called S. *Patricks* Purgatory, because it is knovvne and confessed, and because I vvould be discharged of my Readers expectation, who perhaps vvith the name of S. *Patricke* looketh to bee informed thereof, I can bee content to put so much in vvriting, as Bookes and reports affirme vvith most likelyhood.

Tvvo things I muse at, that neither the time nor the author of so strange erection was preserved. Concerning the time one Record putteth it in Anno Domini 302. which is 128. yeares before S. *Patricke* converted Ireland, and sixty sixe yeares before his birth. Againe *Cambrensis* who maketh curious recitall of wonders in the land, never uttereth word of this Purgatory; & though a negative authority be not invincible, yet considering the propertie of that man, and what a sort of trifles he taketh paine to justifie, it may serve for a vehement suspition, that the place was then either not found, or not miraculous. Concerning the Author,

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very few there are that referre it to this *Patricke* their Apostle, but rather to an Abbot of the same name, whom I marvaile I finde not in the mighty bigge volume of their Saints: Notwithstanding these Originalls might bee either lost or altered, but the thing it selfe being extant, must needes have had a beginning, whereof possibly there are monuments in that Church, or in the Irish tongue to me unwitting.

Therefore I hold him unwise that will utterly mistrust the principall, because the circumstances vary; or condemne the vvhole, because he could not reach to the undoubted truth of some part. If any man bee so delicate, that not a jote thereof vvill sinke into his head, vvho shall controule him? neither hee nor vvee are bound to believe any story besides that vvhich is delivered us from the Scriptures, and the consent of Gods Church. Let the discreet Reader judge of it.

This I learne, that the holy Abbot *Patricius secundus*, not the Bishop their Apostle, laboured the conversion of the people of Vlster, vvhich being now Christians, could yet at no hand be vvonne to renounce their olde sensuality, cruelty, murthers, extortion.[a] And vvhen he much inforced the life to come, they replyed unto him vvith contempt, that unlesse they saw proofes of these ioyes and paines hee preached, they vvould never leese possession of the pleasures in hand, for hope or dread of things to come they vvist

[a] Polichro. l. 1. ca. 35.

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not vvhen. At their importunacie hee besought God, vvere it his good pleasure to give out some evident token of the maters they required: finally by the special direction of God he found in the north edge of Vlster a desolate angle hemmed in round, & in the mids thereof a pit, where he reared a Church, closed the same with a wall, bestowed therein Canons regular, at the East end of this Church yarde, a doore leadeth into a closet of stone, which they call the Purgatory, because devout people have resorted thither for pennance, and reported at their returne, strange visions of paine and blisse appearing to them. They used to continue therein foure & twenty houres, which doing one while with ghostly meditations, and another while a dreadfull conscience of their deserts, they saw as they say, a plaine resembling of their owne faults and vertues, with the horror and comfort thereto belonging, that one so terrible, the other so joyous, that they verily deeme themselves for the time to have sight of heaven and hell. The revelations of men that went in (Saint *Patricke* yet living) are kept vvritten vvithin the saide Abbey. When any person is disposed to enter (for the doore is ever sparred) he repaireth first for advice to the Archbishop, vvho casteth all perils, and dissvvadeth him, because they say diverse never came backe againe, but if the party be resolute, he recommendeth him to the Pryor, vvho in like manner favourably exhorteth him not to hazard such a danger, if notvvithstanding he finde the party fully bent, he conducteth him to this Church, enjoyned him to begin

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vvith prayer, fast and vigill of 15. dayes, so long together as in discretion can be endured. This time expired, if he yet persevere in his former purpose, the vvhole Convent accompanieth him vvith solemne procession and benediction to the mouth of the cave, vvhere they let him in, & so barre up the doore till the morrow, & then vvith like ceremonies they avvaite his returne, & reduce him to the Church. If he be seene no more, they fast & pray 15. dayes after. Touching the credit of those matters, I see no cause but a Christian man assuring himself that there is both hel & heaven, may vvithout vanity upon sufficient information, be persuaded that it might please God at somtime for considerations to his infinit vvisdome knovvn to reveale by miracles the vision of loyes & paines eternal, but that altogether in such sort, & so ordinarily, & to such persons, and by such meanes as the common fame & some records therof doe utter, I neither believe, nor wish to be regarded. It appeares by *Trevisa* in his additions to *Polichronicon*, that a superstitious opinion of this Purgatory was then conceived, which he disproveth. And a man of indifferent judgement may soone suspect that in the drift and strength of Imagination, a contemplative person would happely suppose the sight of many strange things which he never saw. Since writing hereof I met with a Priest, who told mee that he had gone the same pilgrimage, and affirmed the order of the premisses: But that he for his owne part saw no sight in the world, save onely fearefull dreames when he chanced to nod, and those he saith

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were exceeding horrible: further he added, that the faste is rated more or lesse, according to the quality of the penitent, and that the place seemed to him scarcely able to receive sixe persons.

CAP. XIIII.

The Irish Saints

THOUGH my search thereof in this my haste out of the land be very cumbersome, yet being loath to neglect the memory of Gods friends, more glorious to a Realme then all the victories and triumphs of the world, I thinke it good to furnish out this chapter with some extracts touching the Saints of Ireland, namely those that are most notable, mentioned by authors of good credit. *Cambrensis* telleth, that in S. *Patricks* time flourished S. *Bride* the virgin, and S. *Columbe* in Doune, where their bodies soone after the conquest, and also S. *Patrickes* body were found, Sir *Iohn Courcye* being then President of Vlster. In vievving of the sepulture hee testifieth to have seene three principall jevvells, vvhich vvere then translated as honourable monuments vvorthie to be preserved.

Of S. *Columbe*[c] it is doubted, whether he lived in that age. *Brigide* was base Daughter of *Dubtachus*

[c] Ex Vitis sanctorum Hiberniæ.

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a Captaine in Leinster, who perceiving the Mother with child, sold her secretly, fearing the jealousy of his wife, to a Irish Poet, reserving to himselfe, the fruite of her wombe, she was there delivered of this *Brigide*, whom the Poet trained up in letters, and so conveyed her home to her father.[d] The Damosell was schooled in the faith by S. *Patricke*, preaching then in those parts, she became so religious, and so ripe in judgement, that not onely the multitude, but a whole synode of Bishoppes assembled by Dublin,[e] used her advice in weighty causes, and highly esteemed her. One fact of hers being yet a childe, made her famous. The King of Leinster had given to *Dubtachus* in token of singular affection, for his good service, a rich sword. Now it befell, that the maiden visiting her sicke neighbours, diversly distressed for hunger, (her father being a sterne man, his Lady a shrewe) she saw none other helpe to releive these wretched people, but to part the lewels of that idle sword among them. This matter was haynously taken, and came to the Kings eares, who (comming shortly after to a Banquet in her fathers house) demaunded the Girle, not yet nine yeares old, how she durst presume to deface the gift of a King, shee answered, that it was bestowed upon a better King, then hee was, whom (quoth she) finding in such extremity, I would have given all my father hath, and all that thou hast, yea your selves and

[d] An. Dom. 439.

[e] An. Dom. 440.

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all, were yee in my power to give, rather then Christ should starve.

At convenient age she professed virginity, and allured other noble Virgins to her fellowship, with whom she lived in her owne Monastery, untill the yeare of our Lord 500. and was buried at Downe, in the Tombe of S. *Patricke*, what *Cambrensis* reporteth of his own knowledge and sight, I will be bold to add hereunto.

Among her reliques, was found a concordance of the 4. Evangelists, seeming to bee written with no mortall hand, beautified with mysticall pictures in the margent, whose colours and workemanship, at the first blush were darke and unpleasant, but in the view wonderful lively and artificiall. *Senanus* first a Souldiour, succeeded S. *Patricke*[f] in the See of Ardmagh, when he had beene certaine yeares a *minor* and doctour to the Campe. *Brendan* Abbot at the age of ten yeares, was of such incomparable holinesse, and thereto so wise and lettered, that his parents thinking themselves to have wonne the most notable fruite, that could ensue their marriage, by mutuall consent professed continencie. Hee flourished in the time of S. *Bride*, lived familiarly with *Ercus* the Bishop, and *Finan* the Abbot.

Madoc alias Edan of noble parentage, taken pri-

[f] An. Dom. 493.

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soner with the King of Temore,[s] and kept in his court with diverse yong-men his schoole-fellowes, openly adjured the King to suffer him and them to depart and serve God as they were accustomed, which being now sundred and distrayned of libertie they had partly discontinued, immediately they were dismissed: he died Bishop of Fernes, and laide the foundation of that Burrogh. *Molingus* the successor of S. *Madoc* being Bishop tooke himselfe to voluntary labour, & with his owne hands, drived a running spring to his Monastery, enduring that travaile dayly after prayer and study, eight yeares together. *Fintan* the Abbot was had in such veneration, that whereas *Colin* King of Leinster, kept prisoner *Cormak* the Kings sonne of Kensill: He went boldly with 12. of his Disciples through the presse of the Souldiours, and in sight of the King, rescued the young Prince, for the Irish in no wayes are outragious against holy men. I remember, *Cambrensis* writeth himselfe, merrily to have objected to *Morris* then Archbishop of Cashell, that Ireland in so many hundred yeares had not brought forth one Martyr. The Bishop answered pleasantly, (but alluding to the late murther of *Thomas* of Canterbury.) Our people (quoth he) notwithstanding their other enormities yet have ever more spared the bloode of Saints, marry now we are delivered to such a nation, that is well acquainted with making Martyrs, henceforwards I trust this complaint shall cease.

[s] An. Dom. 496.

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Malachias was borne in Ardmagh of noble parents,[h] cherished in vertue by example of his Mother, and trayned up in learning, even yet a very babe, he vvas oft times espied to steale from his companions to pray in secret, so grave & modest, that of himselfe he choosed alwayes the most severe and rigorous Schoolemasters, and refused an excellent Clerke, only because he saw him, somewhat lightly demeaned at game. In the beginning of his youth hee yeelded himselfe the Disciple of *Imarius*,[i] an old recluse, whose austerity of conversation, the whole towne admired. There he became a Deacon, and at twenty five yeares a Priest. The Archbishop for the fame and opinion of his worthinesse, made him his Coadjutor, in the which office he reformed superstitions and revived the strength of religion, specially the uniformitie of their Church service, wherein before time they jarred. The famous monastery of Banchor he reedified, of the patrimony & legacies by his Vncle left him. The same Monastery was of old time, first governed by *Congellos*, and then proceeded *Columbanus*, the father of many religious houses in France. Banchor had beene so stored with Moncks, that no houre of day nor night they ceased, but some company or other was in continuall succession at divine service. Of which brethren there were in one day murthred 900. and the place spoyled, whose possessions conveyed to *Malachias* by his Vncle,

[h] An. Dom. 1094.

[i] Bernard in vita Maloch.

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hee restored forthwith, and bettered the foundation. At the age of thirtie yeares, he was by Canonicall election forced to accept the Bishopricke of Conereth, a people of all the Irish then most savage and bestiall, whom he with inestimable toyle reclaymed.

In the meane while died *Celsus* Archbishop of Ardmagh, to whom succeeded *Malachias*, at the age of thirty eight years. But ere this wel-nigh the space of 200. yeares together, a pestilent custome had crept into the country, that the Metropolitanes See, was inferred upon meere lay persons of the blood royall in manner by inheritance, wherefore *Nigellus* the next of kindred animated by the partiality of some Princes, & getting into his custody the Bible and Staffe, and other Ornaments of S. *Patricke* (whereunto the eares of the common people tyed the prelacy) came to the Pallace, with a bande of Souldiours to have slaine the Bishop. When all the people wept and howled, for his perill, he alone stepped into the bosome of his enemies, demaunding their purpose. The very Tyrants letting fall their weapons in stead of the murder conspired, fell to reverence him, and departed friends. Three yeares he sate in the primacy, rather to discontinue the horrible corruption before used, then with intent to abide there: and their error having disanulled the abuse, he procured *Gelasius* to be his Successor, and returned to his former Bishopricke of Downe. For to Downe was then annexed Coner. But *Malachias* understanding that in times past, they were

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severall, sundred them againe, and preferred another to the Diocesse of Conor, desirous rather to discharge his cure, then to enlarge the fraites, while he preached, a woman fell at his feete, and besought his prayer, for that she had now gone with childe fifteene moneths and twenty dayes, nor could by any meanes be delivered, which done, the newes of her delivery was reported before the assembly brake up. Hee threatned vengeance to a Captaine, unlesse he would turne away the Concubine he kept, the same being also his brothers Concubine. The Captaine tooke it disdainefully, and within one houre, was slaine by a conspiracy of women, whose Daughters and servants he had defiled. There dwelt in Lismore a notable Clerke, of conversation upright, but corrupt in judgement of religion, this fellow advancing his doctrine, offered disputation to the Bishop, before the multitude, when he was forced to silence with the waight of truth, yet he cavilled maliciously, that not the cause nor learning, but the countenance and credit of *Malachias* had wonne the victory. To whom the Bishop answered, our Lord compell thee, even maugre thine owne willfullnesse to acknowledge thine errors. At these words the Clerke and intending to fly the sight of men, was prevented with a mortall infirmity, and beseeching the Bishop of his peace and communion, died immediately, reconciled to God and holy Church. Being demaunded of his Brethren, the Moncks of Banchor, where and when hee would wish to dye, and be buryed, if it lay in his choyse, hee answered: If in

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Ireland, beside the body of S. *Patricke:* If beyond the seas, at Clarivall, where S. *Bernard* was then famous and in the feast of *All Soules.* He cast in his minde, within a few dayes to sue to *Eugenius* the third, for the increase of the number of Metropolitanes, which request, was shortly after sped, and in this voyage he rested at Clarivall, and there diverse times, openly foretold that his yeare of departing was come: accordingly when he had taken leave of S. *Bernard* and the brethren, descended from his chamber to Church, and received the rites of a christian man, he returned to his lodging, and dyed on *All Soules* day,[k] in the yeare of his age fifty foure, so mildely and peaceably, that it seemed rather a sleepe, then a death. There his obsequies was solemnized and miracles wrought at his tombe, and from thence his body was translated to Ardmagh in the yeare 1192.

Malchus, though borne Irish, yet he spent most part of his time in the monastery of Winchester, in England, from thence assumpted Bishop of Lismore, him also remembreth S. *Bernard* upon occasion. A lunaticke childe he cured in Bishopping him. This miracle was through the world seene and confessed of many hundreds. There happened the same time, a discord betweene the King of Mounster, and his Brother, wherein the King was overmatched and fled into England, visited *Malchus* in his Abbey, and would at no hand be said nay, but so long as it should please

[k] 1148.

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God to afflict him, he would live there under his governement, and ensue his conversation, he contented himselfe with a poore Cell, used dayly a cold bathe to represse the wantonnesse of his flesh, dieted himselfe with none other fare, then bread, water and salt, passed dayes and nights in sobbing and remorse of sinne. At length the Kings and Nobles of Ireland began to stomacke the usurper, vanquished him, called home the good King to his right, who with many perswasions of *Malchas* and *Malachias* could scarcely be gotten to forsake ghostly company, & trade of life.

CAP. XV.

The most notable events in Ireland, betweene the time of Saint Patricke, and the conquest under Henry the 2.

IN the yeare of Christ 586. the people of Norway were Lordes and victours of the Ilandes in the West Ocean called Orchades, and great scowrers of the seas: A nation desperate in attempting the conquest of other Realmes: as being sure to finde warmer dwelling any where, then at their owne home. These fellowes lighted into Ireland by this meanes, *Careticus* King of Brittaine (odious to his subjects) fell with them at civill warre. Ioyfull was the newes hereof to the Saxons, who then in the six severall kingdomes, pos-

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sessed the Iland sundry wayes, so they laide together their force, & associated to them *Gurmondus*, a Rover out of Norway, who having a navy still in a readinesse, and an army thereafter furnished, holpe the Saxons, to hunt the Brittaines into the marshes of Wales, builded the towne of Gormond-chester, and then having holpen the Saxons, made a voyage into Ireland where he sped but meanely, and therefore the Irish account not this for any of their conquests, as some of their antiquities have informed me. The same *Gurmondus* finding hard successe, did but build a few slight castles and trenches in the frontiers, and then leaving the land, got him home into France, where he was finally slaine, him our Chronicles name King of Ireland. But the Irish affirme that before *Turgesius* no Easterlings obtained a Kingdome. Here *Cambrensis* to salve the contradiction, thinketh *Gurmundus* to have conquered the land by *Turgesius* his Deputy, sent thither at his provision; which answere breedeth a contrariety more incurable, for himself numbreth betweene *Laigirius* King of Ireland, in an. 430. and *Fedlemidius* whom *Turgesius* vanquished, Monarches 33. and yeares 400. so that *Turgesius* lived in an. 830. and could not possibly deale with *Gurmondus*, who joyned with the Saxons against *Careticus* in Anno 586. This knot might be untwyned with more facility. *Gurmondus* made much of that little he caught, and wrote himselfe King, which Title our Histories doe allow him, because he opened a gappe, enjoyed it for a while, and brake a way for his Countreymen. *Turgesius* brought

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this attempt to perfection, and in these respects each of them may be called first King and Conqueror.

Secondly therefore *Turgesius* with his Normans, assaulted Ireland, [1] sustained losse and many overthrowes, but in the end fastening his power to the sea coasts, and receiving in his friends at will, he subdued the land through and through, ever as he went building up Castles and fortresses, vvherevvith the Irish had not beene yet acquainted, for hitherto they knevv no fence, but vvoods or bogges, or strokes. *Turgesius* bridled the Kings, and avved them so, that vvithout interruption he raigned thirty yeares, cryed havocke & spoile vvhere any vvealth vvas heaped, spared neither Lay nor Clergy, nor Church, nor Chappell, but very insolently abused his victory. *O-malaghlien* king of Meth, vvas in some trust vvith the Tyrant, his onely Daughter *Turgesius* craved for his concubine. The father having a present vvitt, and vvatching some subtle oportunities, Saving your fancie, my Lord, quoth hee, there are diverse Ladies of my bloud svveeter bed-fellovves for a king, then that brovvne girle; and then he began to count neeces and cousins a number forsooth, endovved vvith angell-like beauties, painted so lively vvith his Tale, that the Tyrant doted already upon them ere hee savv them: But ever he doubted, lest *O-malaghlien* extolled them to exempt his ovvne, and the wise father cloaked his drift vvith modestie in ansvveres, and lingering his graunt to enflame the leachers folly, as hee

[1] 830.

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that vvould any thing to bee suspected rather then his thought indeed. And at the last vvhen the other tooke his delay somevvhat unkindely, and bade his Queene speake to him. If I said (quoth hee) that vvith my very goodvvill my sole daughter should bee sent to you to bee deflovvred, your high vvisedome vvould guesse I did but faine and flatter, and yet if ten daughters were deerer unto me then your good pleasure and contentation, by whose bounty, both she & I, and we all are supported, I were unworthie the secret friendship, wherein it lyeth in you to use mee. As for the wench, it will in part seeme honourable to bee asked to the bed of such a Prince, seeing Queenes have not sticked to come from farre, and prostrate their bodies to noble Conquerours, in hope of issue by them, and howsoever it bee taken, time will redeeme it. But such a friend as you are to mee and mine, neither I nor mine shall live to see, and I purpose not to offend your amity with saving a greater mater then twenty maiden-heads, seeing fathers have not sticked to yeeld their owne wives to quench the loves and lustes of their sonnes.

Therefore I am thus agreed, name you the day and place, sever your selfe from the open eye of your Court, conferre with those that have a curious insight and skill in beauties, I will send you my daughter, and with her the choice of twelve or sixteene gentlewomen, the meanest whereof may bee an Empresse in comparison, when all are before you, make your game at will, and then if my childe shall please your fancie, shee is not

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too good to be at your commandement: Onely my request is, that if any other presume upon your leavings, your Majestie will remember whose fathers childe she is. This liberall proffer was accepted of him, whose desire was insatiable, with many faire promises and thankes. To bee short, the same day *O-malaghlin* attired Princelike his owne Daughter, and with her sixteene beautifull striplings, which presented to the King in his privy Chamber, accompanied onely with certaine wantons of the Nobility, drew foorth from under their woman-like garments, their skeanes, and valiantly bestirred themselves, stabbing first the Tyrant, next the youth present that prepared but small resistance, surely fitt mates to supply the offices they tooke in hand, of *Paris*, not of *Hector*.

Out flew the fame thereof into all quarters of Ireland, and the Princes nothing dull to catche holde of such advantage, with one assent, were ready to pursue their liberty. All Meth and Leinster were soone gathered to *O-malaghlin*, the father of this practise, who lightly leapt to horse, and commaunding their forwardnesse in so naturall a quarrell, sayde, Lordings and friendes, this case neither admitteth delay, nor asketh policie, heart and hoste is all in all, while the feate is young and strong, that of our enemies some sleepe, some sorrow, some curse, some consult, all dismayed, let us anticipate their furye, dismember their force, cut off their flight, occupie their places of refuge and succour. It is no mastery to plucke their feathers, but their

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neckes, nor to chase them in, but to rovvse them out, to vveede them, not to rake them; nor to treade them dovvne, but to digge them up. This lesson the Tyrant himselfe hath taught mee, I once demaunded him in a parable, by vvhat good husbandry the Land might bee ridde of certaine Crovves that annoyed it, hee advised to vvatche vvhere they bred, and to fire the nestes about their eares. Goe vvee then upon these Cormorants that shrovvde themselves in our possessions, and let us destroy them so, that neither nest, nor roote, nor seede, nor stalke, nor stubbe may remaine of this ungracious generation.

Scarce had he spoken the vvord, but vvith great shovvtes and clamours, they extolled the King as patron of their lives and families, assured both courage and expedition, joyned their confederates, and vvith a running campe, svvept every corner of the Land, razed the castles to the ground, & chased the strangers before them, slevv all that abode the battaile, recovered each man his ovvne precinct and former state of government. The Irish delivered of slavery, fell to their old vomit in persecuting one another, & having lately defaced their fortified castles & tovvns, as coverts to the enemy; al sides lay novv more open in harmes vvay. This considered, the Princes that in the late rule of *Turgesius* espied some towardnesse to wealth and ease, began to discourse the madnesse of their fathers, who could not see the use of that vvhich their enemies abused, they began to loathe their unquietnesse, to wish

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either lesse discord, or more strength in every mans dominion to cast out the danger of naked Territoryes, as ready to call in the enemy, as the contrary was to shrowd them, faine vvould they mend, and they vvist not hovv. The former subjection though it seemed intollerable, yet they felt therein a grovving to peace, fruits of merchandize, rest & surety; for it fared diversly tvvixt those Easterlings, & these Irish: they knevv hovv to thrive, might they get some commodious soyle. These had all the commodities of the soyle, & reckoned them not. While the Princes and Potentates pavvsed in this good mood, certain marchants out of Norvvay, called Ostomanni, Easterlings, because they lay East in respect of us, though they are indeede properly Normans, & partly Saxons, obtained licence safely to land & utter their vvares. By exchanging of vvares & money, finding the Normans civill and tractable, delighted also vvith gay conceipts, vvhich they never esteemed needfull untill they savv them, they entred into a desire of traffique vvith other nations, to allure marchants, they licenced the strangers aforesaid to build, if they vvere disposed, Haven-Tovvnes, vvhich vvas done. *Amellanus* founded Waterford; *Sitaricus*, Limericke; *Inorus*, Dublin, more at leisure by others. Then were repaired by helpe and counsell of these men, castles, forts, steeples, and Churches every-where. Thus are the Irish blended also in the blood of the Normans, who from thenceforth continually flocked hither, did the Inhabitants great pleasure, lived obediently, till wealth made them

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wanton and rebellious. But they could not possibly have held out, had not the conquest ensuing determined both their contentions. The meane while they waxed Lords of Havens and Bur-Townes, housed their soudiours, and oftentimes skirmished tooke their fortune, crept no higher, onely a memory is left of their field in Clantarfe,[m] where diverse noble Irish men were slayne, that lye buryed before the Crosse of Kilmaynam.

And it is to be noted, that these are the Danes, which people (then Pagans) wasted England, and after that, France. From whence they came againe into England with *William* the Conquerour.[n] So that Ostomani, Normans, Easterlings, Danes, and Norway-men are in effect the same, and as it appeareth by conference of times and Chronicles, much about one time or season, vexed the French men, subdued the English, and multiplyed in Ireland.[o] But in the yeare of Christ 1095. perceiving great envy to harbe in the distinction of Easterlings and Irishe nearly west, and because they were simply Northerne, not Easterne, and because they magnified themselves in the late conquest of their Countreymen, who from Normandy flourished now in the Realme of England, they would in any wise be called and counted Normans.

[m] 1050. al. 1014.

[n] Gail de Nangiac. Polid l. 8. Angl. hist.

[o] Am. Dom. 980.

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Long before this time,[p] as ye have heard, Ireland was bestowed into two principall Kingdomes, and sometime into more, whereof one was ever elected Monarch, whom they tearme in their Histories, *maximum regem*, or without addition, *regem Hiberniæ*. The rest were written *Regali* or *Reges* by limitation, as the King of Leinster, of Connaght, of Vlster, of Mounster, of Meth. To the Monarch besides his allowance of ground, and titles of Honours, and other priviledges in Iurisdiction, was graunted a negative in the nomination of Bishops at every vacation. The Cleargy and Laity of the Diocesse, recommended him to their King, the King to their Monarch, the Monarch to the Archbishop of Canterbury, for that as yet the Metropolitanes of Ireland had not receaved their palles: In this sort was nominated to the Bishopricke of Divelin, then voide Anno 1074. (at the petition of *Godericus* King of Leinster, by sufferance of the cleargy & people there, with the consent of *Terdilvachus* the Monarch) a learned prelate called *Patricius:* who the blessed archbishop *Lanfrancus* consecrated at S. *Pauls* Church in London, & swore him to the obedience after the maner of his antecessors.[q] *Christian* Bishop of Lismore Legate to *Eugenius* 3. summoned a Provinciall Councell in Ireland, wherein were authorized foure Metropolitan Sees, Ardmagh, Dublin, Cashell, & Tuam: Bishops thereof being *Gelasius*, *Gregorious*, *Donatus*,

[p] An. Dom. 948.

[q] 1152.

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Edanus; for hitherto, though they yeelded a primacy to the Bishop of Ardmagh, in reverence of Saint *Patricke*, yet was it partly voluntary, and ratified rather by custome, then by sufficient decree: neither did that Arch-Bishop take upon him to invest other Bishops, but sent them to Canterbury (as I said before) which henceforth they did not. Namely the next Bishop of S. *Laurence*, sometimes Abbot of S. Kevynes in Glandilagh, [r] was ordered and installed at home by *Gelasius* Primate of Ardmagh.

[r] 1162.

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THE

SECOND BOOKE

OF

CAMPION'S

HISTORY OF IRELAND.

CAP. I.

The conquest of Ireland by Henry the second, King of England, commonly called Henry Fitz Empresse.

DERMOT MAC MURROUGH,[s] King of Leinster, halt and leacherous, vowed dishonestly to serve his lust on the beautifull Queene of Meath, and in the absence of her husband, allured the woman so farre, that she condiscended to be stolne away. This dishonourable wrong to avenge, *O-Rorick* the King her husband, besought assistance of *Rodericke Oconor*, King of Connaght, at that season the generall Monarch of all Ireland. The subjects of Leinster detesting the quarrell, and long ere this time hating their Prince, left him desolate

[s] 1167. This Chapter concludeth the 1. and 2. booke Cambrens de conquest Hiberniæ: delivered unto me by Francis Agard.

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in his greatest neede, so as with much difficulty he caught his boate, and fled over for succour to *Henry* the 2. King of England, then warring upon the French men, within his Dukedome of Aquitaine. Somewhat before this season sate in the See of Rome, *Adrianus* [t] 4. an English man borne, who having in his youth taken a painefull pilgrimage into Norway, and reduced the whole Iland unto Christianity, learned distinctly the state of Ireland, and how their countrymen which dayly repaired thither, being themselves the most part infidels, meeting with a people there, wilde and furious, were like very shortly (but if God found remedy) to deface religion: for though Christ were beleeved and taught, yet the multitude eft soone, grew to a shamelesse kinde of liberty, making no more of necessary points of Doctrine, then served their loose humour. Besides these occasions *Henry* the 2. builded upon the Popes favour, his borne subject, had sent Ambassadours to Rome, in the first yeare of his reigne, asking leave to attempt the conquest of Ireland. *Adrian* trusting and requiring a diligent reformation of the pretences, graunted his Bull, which *Alexander* his Successour confirmed, and ratified upon the same conditions. Now when *Dermot* was come in the very necke of these consultations, and put up his complaint, wherein he preferred the interest of his Crowne, and craved a restitution of some peece of his lands, the matter did seeme not all untowardly broached, *Henry* having his hands full with the French, because *Mac Murrough* urged

[t] Polichron. Plat. in Adr. 4. Io. Stell. in Chr.

all possible haste, could not personally intend that offer, but sent him honourably garded into England, with letters patents bearing this Tenour.

HENRY the second, King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, Earle of Angiow. To all our true subjects, English, Normans, Welchmen, Scotts, and to all nations within our Dominions whatsoever. Greeting. Witt yee that the Bearer hereof, *Dermot Mac Murrough* King of Leinster, we have received into the soveraigne protection of our Grace and bounty, wherefore who so of you all our loving subjects will extend towards him, your ayde for his restoring, as to our trusty and welbeloved, know yee that he is thereto authorized by these presents, and shall deserve at our hands high favour in so doing.

With these letters and many gay additions of his owne, he arrived at Bristow, where he fell at conference with *Richard Strongbow*, Earle of Pembroke, with whom he covenanted, the delivery of his onely daughter and heire unto marriage, and so the remainder of his Kingdome: If the said Earle would recover him his home. That day were planted in Wales two gentlemen, *Robert Fitz Stephens* and *Maurice Fitz Gerald*, brethren of a Mother, allyed to *Rice ap Griffin*, then Prince of Wales, whose Grand-father was surnamed *Rice* the great. *Fitz Stephens* had beene high Constable there under the King, and for executing rigour upon the Princes servants, was with

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him dethined prisoner three yeares, ne would in any wise pay ransome or accept the liberty promised him, but if the conditions were loyall to the Crowne, and to his person no dis-worship. Lastly by the mediation of *David* Bishop of S. Davids, the third brother; and of *Fitz Gerald*, and at the instance of *Mac Murrough* whom the Prince entertained in that distresse, *Fitz Stephens* was conditionaly delivered, that he and his brother *Maurice*, should the next spring, while *Strongbow* provided his army, assist the Irish out-cast, who in consideration thereof assured them an estate for ever in the towne of Weixford, and two Cantreds adjoyning.

Thus much firmely concluded on all sides, the King stale secretly home, and wintered closely among the Cleargie of Fernes.

According to covenant came *Fitz Stephens*, with 30. Knights of his blood, 60. Squiers, & 300. footemen Archers, to whom at his landing, *Dermot* sent in aid his base sonne *Duvelnaldus*, and five hundred speares. The towne and suburbes of Weixford marched forth against him: But when they saw Souldiours in array, diversly dighted and weaponed, furnished with artillery, barbed horses and harnesse, they retyred to their walles and strengthned them, burning the villages thereabouts, and all the provision they could not carry. The assault lasted 3. dayes, in the 4. certaine Bishops resciant there, tooke up the variance, pacified the,

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Townesmen to their King, and procured the rendring of the Towne. *Dermot* having tryed the valiantnes of the Welchmen, immediately kept his touch, and gave possession of Weixford with the appurtenances aforesaid, to *Fitz Stephens* and his brother. After successe of these matters, they leavyed to the number of 3000. Souldiours, and devised to vexe the Lords of Vpper Ossory, who had beene to the King of all other most cruell and injurious. Them they compelled to deliver Trewage and sweare fealty.

Rodericke the monarch appalled at these newes, reared up all the Kings, in defence of the land, verily supposing that all would to wrecke, were it not prevented. And first they directed courteous messages and gifts to *Fitz Stephens*, moving him to depart the land quietly, and not to molest them without cause. To whom he answered, that much he wondred at the folly of those Princes, who to satisfie their choller had opened such a gappe to their owne prejudice, as though the subjects whom they had schooled, to breake allyance towards the King of Leinster, would not be as ready by this example to learne to withstand the King of Connaght, for his owne part, though hee might with better reason invade strangers, then they could expell their neighbours and their peere, yet would they suffer the King to reenter his right, they should not finde him stiffe, nor untractable, otherwise they should well feele that the Bryttons wanted neither abilitie, nor truth, to maintaine their word.

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Rodericke perceived it was no boote to spurne, and therefore bethought himselfe of composition upon agreement, they resolved thus.

Inprimis, that *Mac Murrough* swearing afresh his obedience to the Monarch, should quietly, repossesse the parts of Leinster, which *Rodericke* with-held by suspensation.

Secondly, that for ensurance thereof, he should pledge his dearest base sonne *Cnotharn*, to whom *Rodericke* promised his daughter, if this peace were found effectuall.

Thirdly, that being rested in his kingdome, he should discharge the Welch army, nor should hence-forwards call them over in defence.

About this time, *Donatus* the good King of Ergall, founded the Abbey of Mellyfont, which is the eldest that I finde recorded since the Danes arrivall, except S. *Mary* Abbey, besides Divelin, erected in an. 948.

The meane while was landed at Weixford, *Maurice Fitz Gerald* with his provision, ten Knights, thirty Squiers, and an hundred Bowmen, hereupon *Dermat* and the two Brethren, set their force against Divelin, which being the cheife Citty of his Realme, refused to yeeld, when Divelin and the country about it vvas recover'd, there befell hostility between *Rodericke*,

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and *Donenaldus* Prince of Limericke, vvhom *Dermot* his father holpe in field, foyled the enemy, and then withdrevv his obedience from the Monarch. Shamefull was *Roderickes* flight, and *Dermot* insinuated into the favour of his people, began to recount the confederates of his first misfortune, and consulted with the two Captaines for the invasion of Connaght, finding them prest, he wrote over to the Earle *Strongbow*, renewed their covenants, prayed his helpe. *Richard* Earle *Strongbow* (whose auncestors came in vvith the Conquest, but commonly of the King and his successors disfavoured) having read the letters, he passed to King *Henry*, besought him either to answere him his rightfull heritage, vvhich other men occupied, or to licence him else vvhere in uncouth lands, to seeke his fortune. The King halfe in derision bad him on in the name of God, even as farre as his feete could beare him. The Earle dissembling to perceive the hollovvnes of the king, furnished his Cousin *Reymond le Grose*, Nephevv to the brethren aforesaid, vvith ten Knights, and 70. Bovvmen, himselfe ensued vvith about 200. Knights, and 1000. lusty Welchmen, tryed Souldiours, shortly they vvanne the Citty of Waterford, and then immediately *Mac Murrough* accomplished his convention, gave to the Earle in marriage his daughter *Eve*, with the succession of his Kingdome. When Waterford was gotten, and Leinster pacified, and the Princes of Ossory tamed, and a chosen band ever in garrison, *Mac Murrough* became so terrible, that none durst encounter him. The

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Cleargy assembled themselves at Ardmagh, and with one accord did protest that for all their sinnes, and especially for the Turkish kinde of Tyrany which they used in buying and selling, and with vile slaveries oppressing the bodies of the English, (whom their pyrats tooke) their land was like to be translated to that nation, whose captives they handled so cruelly. To appease in part, the indignation of God, they decreed, that all English, wheresoever in hold within the realme, should forthwith be loosed, Further, if it pleased God to scourge them, it should be meekely suffered, as farre beneath the debt of their deserts. King *Henry*, though he was well apayed that the Earle should be from him, yet he liked no deale, his growing in Ireland to such power, as percase in time to come, with his faction in Wales, then living under a Prince of their owne, he might be able to face the Crowne of England. An edict was therefore drawne, whereby all subjects were charged upon their perill, to reverte into England by a day, and a caveat annexed, that upon paine of death, none should presume to passe over without a nevv warrant, nor ship over any wares, money, munition, or victuals into Ireland.

Thus had the Irish a breathing space, and would perhaps have picked greater benefits thereby, had not the Normans beene in their top immediately after. Great force they laide to Divelin, but vvere valiantly repelled, and their Captaine *Hasculphus* taken pri-

*1170.

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goner, who being calmely intreated, began to overview himselfe, and to imagine that the Citizens durst not use him extreamely, & once in open audience brake forth his unseasonable courage, in these wordes. Take this (quoth he) but for hansell, the game is to come: which heard they delayed him no longer, but pusht him downe on a blocke, and swapped off his head.

Strongbow perceiving the Kings jealously not yet allayed, having wel-nigh spent his army in defence of diverse good townes, impugned by *Rodericke* and the Irish, left sufficient warde till his returne: and met the King at Gloucester.[v] To whom he writeth, declaring the envy that lurked in his preferment, yeelded the tittle of all his winning, craved good countenance with his grace, contented himselfe with any portion whatsoever his Majesty should relinquish: a finall quietnesse was driven betweene them, Dublin with th' appurtenances, and all port townes of Leinster, & all fortresses reserved to the King. The Earle should enjoy with good leave whatsoever he had gotten beside. This yeare dyed *Mac Murrow*, and the Abbey *de Castro Dei* was founded.

Soone after the King with five hundred Knights, with archers and horsemen many more tooke shore at Waterford,[w] and was such a terrour to the Irish, that

[v] 1171.

[w] 1172. Regni sui 17. Ætatis 41.

incontinently all Mounster submitted themselves to his peace. There the men of Wexford to feede the surmises of *Henry* conceived against the gentlemen, betrayed their Lord *Fitz Stephens*, and him delivered to the King. The King to gratifie them, for a while tremely chained and hampered the prisoner, quarrelling with him, notwithstanding the inhibition he had proceeded in atchieving the conquest of Ireland, but shortly hee enlarged him, and ratified the grants of Wexford above-mentioned.

These Princes of the South sware fidelity and tribute to *Henry*. *Dermot Cartye* King of Corke, *Donald Obrene* king of Limericke, *Donald* and *Omalaghlien*, puissant Lords of Ossory, and in briefe, all the states of Mounster, from thence hee journeyed to Dublin, where in like manner all the Captaines of Leinster, and *Ororicke* king of Meth, and *Rodericke Oconor*, king of Connaght, and of all Ireland for himselfe, and the whole Iland, humbly recognized his soveraignety: finally, no man there was of name in the land (except them of Vlster) but they to him bowed and sware obeysance. All which he feasted royally with a dinner of Cranes flesh, a fowle till then utterly abhorred of the Irish.

Merlin had prophesied, that five should meete, and the sixt should scourge them. This sixt they now construed to be *Henry*, in whom the five pettie Kingdomes were united. Of the same conquest prophesied

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their foure notable Saints, *Patricke, Brachan, Colme*, and *Moling*.[x]

The King not unmindfull of his charge, enjoyned by the Popes *Adrian* and *Alexander*, entred into a reformation of the Church: and mooved the famous Bishop of Lismore, Saint *Christian*, their Legate, to call a Synode at *Cashell*, wherein they defined Eight Articles.[y]

1. First, that their people should abandon unlawfull contracts of their cousins and allyes, and observe the Canons of Matrimonie.

2. That their Infants should be primestened of the Priests hand at the Church dore, and then baptized in the font of their mother Church.

3. That all faithfull duely pay their Tithes.

4. That holy Church be for ever quit of those cursed exactions of diet and harborow whereunto they had beene accustomably strayned foure seasons in the yeare, and else against right.

5. That the fine levyed for manslaughter, be not borne by the Clearkes, and kinsmen to the malefac-

[x] Fab. pars. 7. c. 137.

[y] Pol. Virg. lib. 13. Angl. Hist.

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tour, but if he were accessary or faulty to the deed doing.

6. That the sicke doe his Testament to be made or read in the presence of credible persons.

7. That the funerals of the dead be devoutly and solemnly kept.

8. That forasmuch as GOD hath universally delivered them into the government of the English, they should in all points, rights, and ceremonies, accord with the Church of England.

To these things *Gelasius* Primate of Ardmagh, because he was old and impotent, gave his consent at Divelin in the presence of the King, he died two yeares after, so aged, that his sustenance was the milke of a white Cow, which he carried with him wheresoever he travelled. This yeere the Abbey *de fonte vivo* was founded.

While all went well in Ireland, newes came that *Henry* the sonne (whom his father had for good purpose crowned King of England) was misledde to intrude upon the actuall possession of the Crowne in his fathers life-time, which stirre to appease, the King left the custody of Ireland with *Hugh de Lacy*, to whom he gave Meth in fee, with *Fitz Stephens*, *Fitz Gerald*, and *Philip de Bruise*, and diverse others, and sayled into England.

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In absence of King *Henry*, *Ororick* King of Meth, surnamed *Monoculus*, required conference and parley with *Hugh de Lacy*, in which communication the King had trayterously murdered *Lacy*, had not *Fitz Gerald* rescued him. Then stept out an ambushment of the Irish, but *Griffin* a Gentleman of the bloud royall in Wales, flighted the *Kyrneghes*, and slevv *Ororick*.

The English perceived such practices daylie sought and attempted, tooke from the Irish as farre as they durst, all trust of government, fenced themselves vvith garrisons, made Captaines, Keepers and Constables, vvheresoever they vvanne the better. But King *Henry* vvas so affrighted vvith his sonnes rebellion, and grevv into such envye both at home and abroad for the death of *Thomas* late Archbishop of Canterbury, that he had no vvill to mind his proceedings in Ireland. Ever his jealousie increased tovvardes the Earle *Strongbow*, vvhom he supposed easie to bee carryed avvay vvith any light occasion of tumult. The Earle vvas a man of great birth, but not of great port until this good marriage befell him, & knovving himselfe neither to be brooked in sight, nor trusted out of sight, kept still one certaine rate in all his doings, bare but lovve saile, fed no quarrells, shunned all suspicious conference.

While they stood thus in a mammaring, and Letters came daylie over, hovv faintly the States and Princes

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of Ireland performed obedience; for except in Leinster, all other parts retayned still their auncient kinde of government, and did onely acknovvledge Tribute. It vvas thought expedient by *Henryes* Counsellours, to discharge his minde of that care, and seeing there vvas trouble on all sides, and all could not bee intended one vvay, they determined to venture the custody of Ireland to *Strongbow*, being likely for his ovvne vvealth and assurance, to procure all possible meanes of bridling and annoying the Irish.

No sooner vvas the Earle landed with his Commission Lord Warden of Ireland, but *Donald* King of Limericke met him at the vantage, and coursed him within the walls of Waterford, whereof hearing the residue their mates were animated, so that up they start in every corner, tagge and ragge to expell the English.

It went hardly, then the Earle remembred himselfe of his cousin Lord *Reymond*, left behinde him in Wales a suitor to *Basil* his sister, whose marriage nothing stopped but the Earles consent. Now therefore hee writeth lovingly to the Wooer, and upon condition that hee came speedily to succour him, hee yelded the Lady and all else at pleasure. *Reymond* in his first entry brake into Divelin, marryed his Wife in compleate Armour, and the very next daye sprang foorth, whipped the Rebells, quieted Leinster.

Also the Cleargy having lately perused the Popes

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Bull, [a] wherein hee entitleth *Henry* Lord of Ireland, and under straight paynes commaundeth alleagiance unto him, busily repressed the fury of their Countreymen. And forsomuch as immediately after Christianity planted there, the whole Iland had with one consent given themselves not only into the spirituall, but also into the temporall jurisdiction of the See of Rome, which temporall right the two Bishops *Adrian* and *Alexander* had freely derived into King *Henry*, as by their publique instruments read in their counsell at *Cashell* appeareth, they denounced curse and excommunication to any that would maliciously gainsay or frustrate the same.

When these broyles were rocked asleepe and husht for a time, the familiars of *Strongbow* greatly forethought them of the credit and rule committed to *Reymond*, whom in conclusion they procured home againe when he had served their turne at neede. The meane while dyed *Strongbow*, as some say, [a] betrayed and vvounded, he lyeth buried in the Body of Christ Church in Divelin, leaving behinde him one onely daughter *Isabel*, marryed after 14. yeares to *VVilliam* Earle marshall. Closely they concealed *Strongbowes* death, untill they had compassed from the King another Governour after their owne tooth. For ever they dreaded, least *Reymond* being in the Princes eye, and friended

[a] Pol. Virg. lib. 13 Angl. Hist.

[b] 1175.

in the Court, would catch his opportunity, and wynde himselfe (might he get an inkling in time of the Earles death) into the succession of his office, which even then waxed sweet and savoury. Coodgellers of this drift, stopped messengers, intercepted letters, hasted on their owne course. *Basil* the wife of *Reymond*, more dutiful to her husband, then naturall to her brother, continued still in Ireland sicke, but having privy knowledge of those newes, ere the breath was quite out of the Earles body, payned her selfe to disturbe this whole array. And whereas shee knew well her letters should bee searched, and her owne servants stayed, shee let it be delivered at all a very venture to one of the maryners, and therein draweth a long processe of her affayres and household, but in the middle shuffles in a few lines of her meaning, under these tearmes: To all my afflictions is added now lately the tooth-ake, so that except that one master-tooth had fallen (which I send you for a token) I weene I were better out of my life. Now was the tooth tipped with golde, and burnished feately like a present, which *Reymond* wist well to bee none of hers, and therefore quickly smelled the construction, lingred not for Letters Pattents, but stept over presently, and made his packe, and was elected by the Kings Agents there, Lord Protectour of Ireland, till the Kings pleasure were further knowne: During his authority flourished the *Geraldines*, but shortly after they quayled againe, under the government of *VVilliam Fitz Aldelin*, with him was joyned in commission the valiant Knight *Iohn de Courcy*, conquerour, and

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Earle of Vlster, which hitherto the King had not obtained.

That yeare [b] was founded the Abbey of Crockesden, by *Bertramus de Verdon.*

To establish the conquest of Vlster, and other victories of the parts of Ireland before enjoyed, [c] *Alexander* the third sent his Cardinall *Vivianus*, vvho declareth the Title that *Henry* held of the Pope, the reservation of the *Peter*-pence, the indignation of GOD and holy Church against the rebells, who beeing themselves contemners and breakers of Canons Ecclesiasticall, yet for maintenance of their unruly stomackes, had found the meanes to make Churches their barnes, bestowing therein both corne and pulse, that the victuallers and purveyors of the Princes campe should not dare to require the sale thereof for perill of sacriledge. Therefore hee licenseth Officers in this behalfe soberly and discreetely to convent such persons, as made the Church a Sanctuary for their Corne, and in neede to take thereof at reasonable prices.

Little good did *Fitz Aldelin*, and lesse vvas like to doe, because hee delighted to crosse his Peeres, and vvas of them stopped in his course of government.

Hugh de Lacye vvas made Protector generall over

[b] 1176.

[c] 1177.

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the Land. But *Miles Cogan*, *Philip de Bruise*, *Fitz Stephens*, *Power*, and diverse other more preferred to severall countreyes under him.

This *Lacye* builded a sort of castles and forts throughout all Leinster and Meth, and the next sixe yeares continually devout gentlemen erected sundry Abbeyes, as the Abbey of Roseglasse,[d] of Donbrothy by *Hervy* a Welch-man,[e] one of the speciall conquerours of Ireland, vvho himself after that, entred into religion in Trinity Priory at Canterbury,[f] The Abbeyes of Geripont, and *Choro Benedicti*, the Abbey *de lege Dei*, vvith repayring of many Chappels, Chauncells, Bellhouses, High-vvayes, and Bridges.[g] Then dyed Saint *Laurence* Archbishop of Divelin, to vvhom succeeded *Iohn Comyn* an Englishman, brought up in the Abbey of Evesham, Founder of Saint Patrickes in Divelin, vvhich vvas before that time a Parish Church, & now by the said Archbishop endovved with Prebends, Vicars, Clearkes, Chorists, and many notable possessions for their maintenance, vvhereout from time to time have proceeded Clergy-men of greatest learning & reputation in the Diocese Divers contentions were raised betwixt Christs Church and it, for antiquity, wherein they of S. Patrickes, are (no doubt) inferiour, as shall

[d] 1178.

[e] 1179.

[f] 1180.

[g] 1182.

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appeare.[h] They are both written Cathedrall Churches, and both are the Bishops Chapiter, in vvhose election they both ought to convent within the Church of the blessed Trinity, called Christs Church, which in all records hath the preheminency of place. The party that disturbeth this order of election, forfeiteth by deede to th' Archbishop of Divelin, 200. pounds. This foundation was much enriched by King *Iohn*.

The same yeare died the yong King *Henry*, reconciled to his father, but preparing warre against his brother *Richard* Duke of Aquitain: soon after also deceased *Ieffry* his other son, Duke of Brittaine. Thus were left *Richard*, his inheritour, and *Iohn* afterwards Earle of Glocester, heretofore surnamed without land, to whom the father conveyed all his interest and Lordship of Ireland, sent him thither honourably accompanied, being then but twelue yeares old, and with him in speciall trust, *Giraldus Cambrensis* Clerke, a diligent searcher of the antiquities of Ireland, surely well learned, and in those dayes counted Eloquent.

About the young Earle were servants and counsellours, three sorts, first Normans, great quaffers, lourdens, proud, belly swaines, fed with extortion and bribery; to whom hee most relyed: secondly, the English brought with him, meetly bold: Thirdly, the English found in the land, whom being best worthy and most forward in all good services, hee least regarded, hereof

[h] Infra cap. 48.

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sprang parties and disdaine, and to the knights that hardiest were and readiest of courage no small discomfort, to the enemies a spurre.

With the brute of his arrivall at Waterford, the Kings of Thomond, Desmond and Connaght, put themselves in the bravest manner they could to meete him and to submit their countries to his Grace, before them came the Irish Franklyns with rich presents, (and as they are very kind hearted where they list to shew obedience,) made unto the Childe, their Lord, the most joy and gladnesse that might be, and though rudely, yet lovingly, and after the custome of their country, offred to kisse him, with such familiarity as they used towards their Princes at home. Two of the Guard, Normans, pickthankes, shooke and tare the Clownes by the glibs & beards unmannerly, and churlishly thrust them out of the presence, whom they should have instructed curteously, & born with. The Irish thus rejected, went against the fore-named Kings, opened the rebukes and villanyes done to them, for their meekenes, that their Lord whom they thought to honour, was but a Boy, peevish and insolent, governed by a sort of flatterers, younglings and prowlers: That sithence to them that buxome were and tractable, such despite and dishonour (that terme they have borrowed of the Spaniards) was proffered so soone, little good should the states of Ireland looke for in continuance, when the English had once yoked and penned them in their clouches.

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This report lightly alienated the mindes of those Princes, not yet very resolute, and turned them home with great oathes and leagues, entred among themselves, caused also the mightiest Captaines elsewhere to sticke together, while their lives lasted, and for no manner earthly thing to slacke the defence of their auncient liberties.

Immediately walked abroad mutinyes of broyle & commotion, so that the young Earle and his army, were content to commit the tryall thereof, to *Lacy*, *Bruise*, *Courcy*, *Fitz Gerald*, and the rest, himselfe departing away the same yeare he came, and leaving the Realme a great deale worse bestedde then he found it.

From the Conquest hitherto *Giraldus Cambrensis*, and from hence to the yeare 1370, I am specially holpen by certaine briefe extracts,[1] whose author is namelesse, and therefore I quote him by the name of *Philip Flatsbury* who wrote them, and enriched them with collections of his owne, for *Gerald* the father of the Earle of Kildare then being. An. 1517.

Lacy the rather for these whisperings, did erect and edifie a number of Castles, well and substantially, provided in convenient places, one at Derwath, vvhere diverse Irish prayed to be set on worke, for hyre. Sundry

[1] In these notes I used the conference of 3. coppies, much different, sent me; the one by my Lord of Trimlestone, another from M. Agard, the third from M. Stanyhurst.

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times came *Lacy* to quicken his labourers, full glad to see them fall in ure with any such exercise, wherein, might they once be grounded & taste the svveetenesse of a true mans life, he thought it no small token of reformation to be hoped, for which cause he visited them often, and merrily would command his Gentlemen to give the labourers example in taking paines, to take their instruments in hand, and to worke a season, the poore soules looking on and resting. But this game ended Tragically, while each man was busie to try his cunning: some lading, some plaistering, some heaving, some carving; the Generall also himselfe, digging with a pykeaxe, a desperate villaine of them, he whose toole the Generall used, espying both his hands occupied and his body, with all force inclining to the blow, watched his stoope, and clove his head with an axe, little esteeming the torments that ensued.[k] This *Lacy* was conquerour of Meth, his body the two Archbishops, *Iohn* of Divelin and *Mathew* of Cashell, buryed in the monastery of Becktye, his head in S. *Thomas* abbey at Divelin.[l] The next yeare, was builded the abbey of Ines in Vlster,[m] and soone after, the abbeyes of Inge Dei, and of Comer,[n] and then the abbey of Knockmoy, or de Colle victoriæ, by[o] *Cathal Crovderg* King of Connaght.

[k] 1189.
[l] 1187.
[m] 1198.
[n] 1195.
[o] 1200.

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CAP. II.

The Titles of the Crowne of England to every part of Ireland, and to the whole diverse wayes.

I WILL begin with the pedigree of *VVilliam* Earle marshall, for thereupon depend many recordes in Ireland, and the Queenes right to Leinster. *VValter Fitz Richard*, who came from Normandy, with *VVilliam* Conquerour, died Lord Strongbow of Strigula *alias* Chepstow without issue, to whom succeeded his sisters sonne *Gilbert*, who was created the first Earle of Pembroke, & had issue *Richard* the inheritour of Leinster, by a covenant and marriage of *Eva* the sole daughter of *Mac Murrough* King of Leinster. This *Richard* conveyed to *Henry* the second all his title, and held of him the Lordship of Leinster in foure countries, Wexford, Catherlagh, Ossory, and Kildare. *Richard* left issue, a daughter *Isabel*, married to *VVilliam* Earle marshall of England, now Earle of Pembroke, Lord Strongbow, and Lord of Leinster. *VVilliam* had issue five sonnes, who died without issue, when every of them, except the youngest, had successively possessed their fathers lands, and five daughters, *Maude*, *Ioane*, *Isabel*, *Sibil*, and *Eve*, among whom the patrimony was parted in an. 31. H. 3. Of these daughters bestowed in marriage, are descended many noble houses, as the *Mortimers*, *Bruises*, *Clares*, &c.

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borne subjects to the Crowne of England, paying ever to the King his dutyes reserved.

Hugh de Lacy Conquerour of Meth, had issue *VValter de Lacy*, who held the same of King *Iohn*, paying a fine of foure thousand marks sterling, and hence beganne all the severall claimes there at this day, with allegiance sworne and done by their aunces-tours.

At the very first arrivall of *Henry* the second, the Princes of Mounster came universally, and did homage voluntarily, and acknowledged to him and his heires, duties and payes for ever.

Iohn de Courcy Conquerour and Earle of Vlster, dyed without issue, King *Iohn* Lord of Ireland, gave the Earledome to *Hugh de Lacy*, who had issue, *VValter* and *Hugh*, dead without issue, and one daughter married to *Reymond Burke* Conquerour and Lord of Connaght.

Connaght descended to diverse heires, owing service to the Prince, but Vlster is returned by devolution to the speciall inheritance and revenues of the Crowne of England, in this manner The said *De Burgo*, had issue, *Richard*, who had issue *Iohn*, who had issue *VVilliam*, who was slaine without issue, and a Daughter, *Elizabeth* intytled to thirty thousand marks yearely, by the Earledome of Vlster, whom *Edward*

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the 3. gave in marriage to *Leonel* his second sonne, Duke of Clarence, who had issue a daughter *Philippe*, marryed to *Edmund Mortymer*, who had issue *Edmund*, *Anne*, *Elinor*. *Edmund* and *Elinor* died without issue, *Anne* was married to *Richard*, Earle of Cambridge, sonne to *Edmund* of Laugley Duke of Yorke, fift sonne to Edward the third, which said *Richard* had issue *Richard Plantagenet*, father to *Edward* the fourth, father to *Elizabeth* wife to *Henry* the seventh, and mother to *Henry* the eight, father to *Mary*, *Edward* the sixt, and *Elizabeth*.

Severall claimes to the Land of Ireland.

1. First that the Irish (for of the rest there is no question) were subjects to the Crowne of Brittaine, before they set foote in Ireland. Thus it appeareth. They dwelt on that side of Spaine, whereof Bayon was then cheife imperiall Citie, and the same then in possession and obedience to *Gurguntius* 376. yeares ere Christ was borne, as it was to his successours many a day after, namely to *Henry*, the which as I finde noted in certaine precepts of governement, dedicated to *Iames Young*, to *Iames Butler* Earle of Ormond, then Lieutenant of Ireland an. 1416.

From this coast and Citty, now part of Gascoigne came the fleete of those Iberians, who in 60. ships met *Gurguntius* on the sea, returning from the conquest of Denmarke, to whom they yeelded oath and

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service, sued for dwelling, were by him conducted and planted in Ireland, and became his leige people.

2. *Mac Gil-murrow* King of Ireland, with all his petty Princes, Lordes, and Captaines, summoned to King *Arthurs* court held in Carlion, an. 519. did accordingly their homage, and attended all the while his great feast and assembly lasted.

3. The Monarch of Ireland and all other, both *reges* and *reguli* for them and for theirs for ever, betooke themelves to *Henry* the second in an. Dom. 1172. namely those of the south, whiles he lay at Waterford, *Dermot* King of Corke, which is the nation of *Mac Cartyes*, at Cashell, *Donald* King of Limericke, which is the nation of the *Obrenes*, *Donald* King of Ossory, *Mac Shaghlen* King of Ophaly, at Divelin did the like, *Okeruell* king of Vriell, *Ororicke* king of Meth, *Rodericke* King of all Ireland, and of Connaght. This did they with consents and shoutes of their people: and king *Henry* returned without any Battle given. Only Vlster remained which *Iohn de Courcy* soone after conquered, and Oneale Captaine of all the Irish there, came to Dublin to *Richard* the 2. in an. 1399. And freely bound himselfe by oath and great summes of money, to be true to the crowne of England.

4. The same time *Obrene* of Thomond, *Oconor* of Connaght, *Arthur Mac Murrow* of Leinster, and

all the Irish Lords which had been somewhat disordered, renewed their obedience.

5. When Ireland first received Christendome they gave themselves into the jurisdiction both spirituall & temporall, of the See of Rome. The temporall Lordship, Pope *Adrian* conferred upon *Henry* the second, and hee gave the same to *Iohn* his younger sonne, afterwards King of England, and so it returned home to the Crowne.

6. *Alexander* the 3. confirmed the gift of *Adrian* as in both their Charters is expressed at large.

7. *Vivian* the legate on the Popes behalfe doth accurse and excommunicate all those that flitte from the obeysance of the Kings of England.

8. The cleargy twice assembled, once at Cashell, secondly at Ardmagh, plainely determined the conquest to be lawfull, and threatned all people, under paine of Gods, and holy Churches indignation, to accept the English kings for their Lords, from time to time.

9. It would aske a volume to recite the names of such Irish Princes, who since the conquest have continually occasions, revolts or petitions, sworne truth and faith to the kings of England, from time to time, received honours, wages, fees, pardons, and petitions.

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And thus I thinke no reasonable man will doubt of a right so old, so continued, so ratified, so many wayes confessed.

CAP. III.

Richard the first, and King John.

BY occasion of *Lacyes* mishap, *Iohn Courcye*, and *Hugh de Lacye* the younger, with all their assistants, did streight execution upon the Rebells, and preventing every mischiefe ere it fell, stayed the Realme from uproares.[p] Thus they continued lovingly, and lived in wealth and honour all the dayes of *Richard* the first, untill the first yeare of King *Iohns* raigne.

Henry the second had issue male, *William*, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Ieffrey*, and *Iohn*.[q] *William*, *Henry*, and *Richard* dyed without issue. *Ieffrey* Earle of Brittaine dyed before his father, and left issue two daughters, and an after-borne son called *Arthur*, whose title to the Crowne, as being the undoubted lyne of the elder brother, *Philip* King of France, and certaine Lords of England and Ireland stoutly justified: Him had King *Iohn* taken prisoner in Normandy, and dispatched, if

[p] 1189.

[q] 1199.

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the fame be true, with his owne hands at Roane. Of this barbarous cruelty all mens eares were full, and *Courcye* either of zeale or partiality, spake bloudy words against it, which meane his undermyners caught, and did not onely heave him out of credit, but also got commission to attach his body, and to send him into England.

The Earle mistrusted his part, and kept aloofe, till *Hugh de Lacye* Lord Iustice, vvas faine to levye men in armes, and to invade Vlster.[r] Thence hee vvas often put to flight, vvhereupon hee proclaymed *Courcye* Traytour, and hyred sundry gentlemen vvith revvards, to bring him in quicke or dead, so long hee vvooed the matter, that *Courcyes* ovvne Captaines vvere inveygled to betray their Lord. Therefore upon good Friday, vvhen the Earle did off his armour, and in secret meditations visited religious places bare-footed, they layde for him, tooke him as a rebell, and shipped him into England the next way, where he was adjudged to perpetuall prison.[s] *Sentleger* addeth in his collections that *Lacy* payd the Traytors their money, and then immediatly hanged them.

This *Courcye* translated the Church and Prebendaryes of the Trinity in Downe, to an Abbey of black Monks brought thither from Chester, and the

[r] 1202.

[s] 1204.

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same did hallow to S. *Patricke*, for which alteration of the name of God to his servant, hee deemed himselfe justly punished.

Not long after (as say the Irish) certaine French knights came to King *Iohns* Court, and one of them asked the combat for tryal of the Dutchy of Normandy. It was not thought expedient to jeopard the title upon one mans lucke, yet the challenge they determined to answere: some friend put them in minde of the Earle imprisoned, a Warriour of noble courage, and in pitch of body like a gyant. King *Iohn* demaunded *Courcye* whether hee would bee content to fight in his quarrell: Not for thee (said the Earle) whose person I esteeme not worthy the adventure of my bloud, but for the Crowne and dignity of the Realme, wherein many a good man liveth against thy will. The words were haply taken without dudgen, as proceeding from stomack, and from one counted more plaine then wise.

Courcye therefore being cherished to the field, and refreshed with dyet, fed so wonderfully after his hard keeping, that the French Challenger tooke him for a monster, and privily stale into Spaine. Then was the Earle inlarged, and crossed the seas tovvardes Ireland, fifteene times, evermore beaten back to the shoare, vvent thence into France to change the coast, and there dyed: after vvhose decease vvithout heires of his body, the Earldome of Vlster vvas

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entirely bestovved upon *Hugh de Lacye* for his good service.

In Ireland remained one of the Courcyes, Lord of Rathenny and Kilbarrock, vvhom as a spye of all their practises, and an informer thereof to the King, *VValter* and *Hugh* the sonnes of *Hugh* had slaine, and great seditions raysed, bearing themselves after the decease of their father for Governours out of checke. To settle the Realme of Ireland, King *Iohn* brought thither a maine Armye, banished the *Lacyes*, subdued the remanents, tooke pledges, punished malefactours, established the execution of English Lawes, coyned money of like value currant sterling in both Realmes.[1] The two *Lacyes* repentant of their follyes and tyrannies, fled into France, dispoyled of sumptuous apparell, and unknowne, meekely they served in Saint *Taurines* Abbey, as gardners, untill the Abbot by their countenance and behaviour, beganne to smell their estates, and pressed them so farre, that they detected their offences, and the due desert of much harder chastisement, eft-soone beseeching the Abbot to keepe their counsells, who commending their humilities, yet advising them to laye holde upon their Princes favour, if it might be had, laboured the King his familiar and godsip earnestly for their pardons and obtained it.

Each of them were fined, *VValter* at 4000. and *Hugh* at 2500. markes, and restored him to the Lord-

[1] Anno 1210. Stow.

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ship of Meth, this to the Earldome of Vlster: King *Iohn* made his Vice-gerent, and returned home, subdued the Welchmen, met with *Pandulphus* the Legate of *Innocentius* the third, who came to release him of the sentence wherein he stood excommunicate for his spoyle and extortion of Church goods, to whom being the Popes Atturney, hee made a personall surrender of both his Realmes in way of submission, and after his assoylement, received them againe: some adde that he gave away his Kingdome to the See of Rome, for him and his successours, recognizing, to holde the same of the Popes in fee, paying yearely therefore one thousand markes, and in them three hundred for Ireland. [u] *Blondus* sayth, *Centum pro utroq; auri marchas.* Sir *Thomas Moore*, a man in that calling & office likely to sound the matter to the depth, writeth precisely, that neither any such writing the Pope can shew, nor were it effectuall if he could. How farre foorth, and with what limitation a Prince may or may not addict his Realme feodary to another, *Iohn Maior* a Scottish Chronicler, and a Sorbonist, not unlearned, partly scanneth, who thinketh 300. marks for Ireland a very hard pennyworth. The instrument which our English Chronicle [v] rehearseth, might haply be motioned and drawne, and then dye unratified, although the copy of that record continue: But certaine it is, that his successours never payde it, and thereto assenteth *Iohn Bale* in his Apology against vowes.

[u] Polid. lib. 15.

[v] Fabian.

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To *Iohn Comin* Founder of S. *Patrickes* Church, succeeded *Henry Lounders* in the Archbishops See of Divelin,[w] who builded the kings Castle there, being Lord Chiefe Iustice of Ireland, him they nicknamed (as the Irish doe commonly give additions to their Governours in respect of some fact or qualitie) *Scorch-villaine*, and *Burnebill*, because hee required to peruse the writings of his Tenants, colourably pretending to learne the kinde of each mans severall tenure, and burned the same before their faces, causing them either to renew their estates, or to holde at will. In the fourth yeare of King *Iohns* raigne, was founded the Abbey of Dowske, in the sixt, the Abbey of Wethny in the Countie of Limericke, by *Theobald le Butler*, Lord of the Carricke, and in the twefth, *Richard Tute* builded the Monastery of Granard.

CAP. IIII.

Henry the third, and Edward the first.

AFTER the death of *Lownders*,[x] *Henry* the third (informed of the Truth and good service done by the *Geraldines* ever since their first arryvall in the Countrey) made *Morrice Fitz Gerald* the sonne of *Morrice* aforesaid Lord Iustice.

[w] 1213. [x] 1228.

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To him sent *Edward* the Prince, surnamed *Longshanke*, for assistance and power of men against the Welch Rebells, who leaving Warders in the Castle of Sligaghe, by him lately founded, together with *Phelim Oconnor*, and a lusty band of souldiours met the king at Chepstovv, returned victoriously, and by this meanes increased favour, & streightway they tvvo joyning vvith *Cormack mac Dermot*, *Mac Rory*, made a noble hosting upon *Odonill* the Irish enemy that invaded and grieved the Kings subjects of Vlster, when *Lacy* was once dead.

Odonill being vanquished, the Lord Iustice forced pledges and Trowages of *Oneale*, to keepe the Kings peace, and diverse other exploytes did hee during his time of government, which in particular rehearseth *Flatsbury* in his notes collected for *Gerald Fitz Gerald*, Earle of Kildare, Anno 1517.

To him succeeded in office Sir *Iohn Fitz Geffrey* knight, [y] *Geffrey Allan de la Zowche*, [z] whom Earle Warren slevv, [a] to *Zowch*, *Stephen de longa spata*, who slew *Oneale* in the streets of Down, [b] and there dyed. Him followed *William Den*, in whose time *Mac Cartye* played the devill in Desmond, and to *Den*, *Richard Capell*, who envyed the Geraldines, and was of them taken prisoner, together with *Theobald le*

[y] 1248. [z] 1259.
[a] 1260. [b] 1261.

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Butler, and *Miles Cogan*.[c] The king tooke up the variance, and discharged *Den*,[d] preferring *David Barrye* to his roome, who tamed the insolence of *Morrice Fitz Morrice*,[e] cousin germane to *Fitz Gerald*: upon *Barrye* came *Vfford*, upon *Vfford*, *Iames Audeley*, who dyed of a fall from his horse in Thomond: and then for the time *Fitz Morrice* governed, till the king sent over Sir *Ieffrey de Genevill*, newly returned in pilgrimage from the Holy Sepulture: Him called home againe *Edward* the first, in the fourth yeare of his raigne, and sent in his stead *Robert Vfford* the second time, who made his Vice-gerent, Fryar *Falborne*, Bishop of Waterford, and resumed his charge at his next arryvall into Ireland.

At this time[f] the citty of Divelin was miserably wasted with fire, and the Bell-house of Christs Church utterly defaced, which the citizens before they repayred their private harmes jointly came to succor, & collections made to redresse the ruines of that ancient building first begun by the Danes, as I finde in a monument of that foundation, continued by *Sitricus*; Prince of Divelin, at the motion of *Donate*, then Bishop, & dedicated to the Blessed Trinity, finished by *Richard* Earle *Strangbow*, *Fitz Stephens*, and S. *Laurence* the Archbishop, and his foure successors, *Iohn* of *Evesham*, *Henry Scorchbill*, Lord Iustice, & *Lucas*, and lastly by *Iohn de S. Paul*, which worke at the decay by fire,

[c] 1267. [d] 1268.

[e] 1270. [f] 1280.

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and since, many devout citizens of Divelin have beautified.[g]

The same *Strongbowes* Tombe spoyled by fall of the rooffe, Sir *Henry Sidney* Lord Deputy, restoreth at this present, who hath also given a sightly countenance to the Quire, by doing cost upon the Earle of *Kildares* Chappell, over against the which he hath left a monument of Captain *Randolfe*, late Colonell of Vlster, Valiantly dead in that service, *Iohn Samford* Archbishop of Divelin Lord Iustice, *VVilliam Vescy* Lord Iustice, who pursued *Omalaghlien* king of Meth, that soone after was slaine.

The Souldan of Babylon[h] determined to vexe the Christians cities of the East. Tripolis, Tyrus, Berinthus, Sidon, Ptolemais, now parts of Turky, vvhom to redeeme, & vvith their helpes to get againe the Holy Land, *Edward* the first had foure yeeres past obtained by licence of *Martin* the fourth,[i] and by confirmation of *Honorius*, his successor, the vvhole tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues in Ireland for 7. yeares, vvhereafter followved a fifteene of the Temporalty: And the same yeere *Iohn Baliol* Earle of Galvvay, founded *Baliol* Colledge in Oxford, made his homage to King *Edward* for his Kingdome of Scotland, and to the Lord Iustice for his Earledome of Ireland.

[g] It was first a Priory and Canons, now Deane and Chapiter.

[h] 1287.

[i] Blundus lib. 3.

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Vescey vvas a sterne man, and full of courage, but rashe and impudent of his tongue: he convented before him, [k] *Iohn* Earle of Kildare, & charged him vvith riots & vagaryes unseasonable, for that he ranged vvith his men abroad, & preyed upon privat enemies inordinatly, for malice & grudge, not for advancement of the publique vveale: vvhom the Earle as impatient as the other, answered thus: [l] By your honour and mine, my Lord, & by king *Edwards* hand, you vvould if you durst, appeach me in plaine tearmes of felony: for vvhereas I have the title, and you the fleece of Kildare, I wot well how great an eye sore I am in your sight, who if I could bee handsomely trussed up for a felon, then might my young Master your sonne, become a Gentleman: Iustice, Gentleman (quoth he) thou proud Earle, the *Vescyes* were gentlemen, before Kildare was an Earldome, and before the Welch bankrupt thy Cousin feathered his Nest in Leinster. But seeing thou darest me, I will surely breake thy heart, and with that word he called the Earle a notorious theefe & murderer. Then followed clattering of swords by Souldiours on both parties, untill either side appeased his owne, and the Lord Iustice leaving his Lieutenant *VVilliam Hay*, sped over the King, whom immediately followed the Earle, & as fast as *Vescey* charged Kildare with fellony, no lesse did Kildare appeach the Iustice of high treason, and in tryall thereof he asked the Combate. But when the listes royall were provided, *Vescey* was slipt away into France, and so dis-

[k] 1291. [l] 1294.

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herited of all his lands in the county of Kildare, which were bestowed upon the Earle of Kildare and his heires for ever.

The Earle waxed insolent upon this successe, and squared with diverse Nobles English and Irish of the Land, hee took prisoner, *Richard* Earle of Vlster, and him detained untill the Parliament then assembled at Kilkenny, commanded his delivery, and forthat unrulinesse, disseised the Geraldines of the Castle of Sligagh, and of all his lands in Connaght.

VVilliam Doddingsale Lord Iustice. [m] This yere for the defence of Wales, and commodity of Passengers, to and from Ireland, the King did coast upon the Isle of Anglisey, called the mother of Wales, and builded there the castle *de bello marisco*, or Bewmarishe. *Thomas Fitz Morice* Lord Iustice.

Iohn FVegan Lord Iustice pacified the former strife,[n] betweene Vlster and Kildare, and all the Geraldines, with their associats, together with *Theobald* Lord *Butler*, gathered strength of men, and met the kings army before Edinburgh, wan the Citty, [o] slew 25. thousand Scots, hampred *Iohn Baliol* king of the Scots, in such sort, that glad and faine was he to renew his homage.

[m] 1294. [n] 1296. [o] 1299.

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CAP. V.

Edward the second.

THOMAS FITZ MORICE Lord Iustice. p

I will begin this Chapter with the modestie of a good Clerke, *Richard Havering* who five yeares by dispensation had received the fruites and revenues of the Bishopricke of Divelin, and long might have done, had he beene so disposed. But now feeling in sleep a waight upon his stomacke, heavyer to his weening then any masse of mettall, whereof to be released he vowed in his dreame, all that ever he could make in this world: Suddainely the next morne, resigned the custodium of the Bishopricke, and contented himselfe with other ecclesiasticall cares incident to his vocation. The same yeare was the bane of the Templers in Ireland, to whom succeeded the Knights of the Rhodes. This profession began at Ierusalem, by certaine Gentlemen that kept their abode next to the Temple there, who till the Councell of Creetz increased not above the number of nine. q But thenceforth in little more then fiftie yeares, being enriched by contribution of all Christian Realmes, every where their houses were erected and endowed bountifully: they grew to 300. Knights of the order and into inferiour brethren innumerable. But with ease and wealth they declined

p 1307.

q Tyr. l. 12. c. 7.

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now to such intollerable deformities of life and other superstitious errors, nothing lesse regarding then the purpose of this their foundation, that the generall Councell assembled at Vienna, disannulled the same for ever. And thereupon as in other countries so in Ireland, they confessed the publicke fame of their enormities, and themselves culpable, their persons they yeelded to perpetuall pennance, their lands were given (though with some difficulty) to the Knights of *S. Iohns* hospitall at Ierusalem, who since then for recovering the Iland of Rhodes from the Saracens, became famous, and multiplied much more honouraby then did the Templers. Of this latter foundation was the priory of *S. Iohns* at Kilmaynam beside Divelin. [r]

Iohn Decer Major of Divelin builded the high Pype there, and the Bridge over the Liffy, toward S. Wolstans, and a chapell of our Lady at the Fryar minors, where he lyeth buried, repaired the Church of the Fryars preachers, and every friday tabled the Fryars at his owne costs.

In absence of *VVogan*, *Sir VVilliam Burche* was Lord Warden of Ireland, to whom King *Edward* recommended *Pierce* of *Gavestone* the disquieter of all the nobility in England, a companion to the King in vice, bolstered up by the King so peremptorily against the will of his Councell, that whereas the said *Pierce*

[r] 1309.

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was by them exiled, *Edward* sent him now into Ireland with much honour and many Iewels, assigning him the commmodities royall of that Realme, which bred some bickering betweene the Earle of Vlster Sir *Richard Burke*, and *Gavestone*, who notwithstanding bought the hearts of the Souldiours with his liberality, subdued *Obrene*, edified sundry Castles, eawswayes, and bridges, but within three yeares he retyred from Flaunders, into England, where the nobles besieged him at Scarborough and smit off his head.

Iohn VVogan Lord Iustice, [s] summoned a Parliament at Kilkenny, where wholesome lawes were ordained, but never executed: There fell the Bishops in argument about their Iurisdictions and in especiall the Archbishop of Divelin forbad the Primate of Ardmagh to lift up his crosyer within the province of Leinster. In ratifying of which priviledge I have seene the coppy of Pope *Honorius* Bull exemplified among the recordes of *S. Patricks* Church, shortly after *Rowland Ioyce*, then Primate, stale by night in his pontificals from Howth to the priory of Gracedieu, where the Archbishops servants met him, and violently chased him out of all the diocesse. This Archbishop was named *Iohn Aleeke*, after whose death were elected in scisme & division of sides, two successours, *Thorneburgh* Lord Chancellor, and *Bignore* Treasurer of Ireland. The Chancellor to strengthen his election, hastily went to sea, and

[s] 1311.

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perished by shipwracke, the other submitting his cause to the processe of law tarryed at home, and sped.

Theobald de Verdon Lord Iustice. Sixe thousand Scots fighting men, under the conduct of *Edward Bruise* [t] brother to *Robert* King of Scotland, also the Earle *Murray*, *Iohn Menteith*, *Iohn Steward*, and others landed in the north of Ireland, [u] ioyned with the Irish, and conquered Vlster, gave the Englishmen three notable overthrowes, crowned the said *Bruise* King of Ireland, burned Churches and Abbeyes, with all the people found therein, men, women, and children. Then was Sir *Edmund Butler* chosen Lord Iustice, [v] who combined the Earle of Vlster, and the Geraldines in friendship, himselfe with Sir *Iohn Mandevill*, and preserved the rest of the Realme.

In the necke of these troubles, arose foure Princes of Connaght, to impaire and scatter the English foree. But then the *Burckes* and the *Berninghams* discomfited and slew the number of eleaven thousand besides Athenry. To Sir *Richard Bermingham* belonged a lusty young swayne, *Iohn Hussee*, whom his Lord commanded to take a view of the dead carcasses about the walles, and bring him word whether *Okelly* his mortall foe were slaine among them. *Hussee* passed forth with one man to turne up and peruse the bodies. All this marked *Okelly*, who lurking in a

[t] 1313. [u] 1314. [v] 1315.

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bush thereby, being of old time well acquainted with the valiantnes & truth of *Hussee*, sore longed to traine him from his Captaine, and presuming now upon this opportunity, disclosed himself & said. '*Hussee*, thou 'seest I am at all points armed, and have my Esquire, 'a manly man, besides me, thou art thin and thy 'page a youngling so that if I loved not thee for 'thine owne sake, I might betray thee for thy Mas-'ters. But come and serve me at my request, & I 'promise thee by S. *Patrickes* staffe, to make thee a 'Lord in Connaght, of more ground, then thy Master 'hath in Ireland.' When these wordes waighed him nothing, his owne man (a stout lubber) began to reprove him, for not relenting to so rich a proffer, assured him with an oath, whereupon hee proffered to gage his soule for performance. Now had *Hussee* three enemies, and first he turned to his owne knave, and him he slew, next hee raught to *Okellyes* Squire a great rappe under the pit of his eare, which overthrew him: Thirdly he bestirred himselfe so nimbly that ere any helpe could be hoped for, he had also slaine *Okelly*, and perceiving breath in the Squire, he drawed him up againe, & forced him, upon a truncheon to beare his Lords head into the high towne, which presented to *Bermingham*, and the circumstances declared, he dubbed *Hussee* Knight and him advanced to many preferments, whose family became afterwards Barons of Galtrime. While the Scots were thus matched, *Robert de Bruise* King of Scots, tooke shore at Cragfergus, to assist his brother, whose Soul-

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diours committed sacriledge and impiety, against Monasteries, Tombes, Altars, Virgins, robbed Churches of all their plate and ornaments. They of Vlster, sent to the Lord Iustice pittifull supplication, for aide in this misery, who delivered them the Kings power and standard, wherewith under pretence to expell the Scots, they raunged through the country with more grievance and vexation to the subjects, then did the strangers. *Le Bruise* proceeded and spoyled Cashell, and wheresoever he lighted upon the *Butlers* lands, those hee burned and destroyed unmercifully. By this time w had the Lord Iustice, and *Thomas Fitz Iohn* Earle of Kildare, *Richard de Clare*, and *Arnold de Powere*, Baron of Donoile, furnished and armed thirty thousand men ready to set forward. Then came newes that *VVilliam de Burgo* the Earles brother was taken by the Scots, whereof the Irish of Vlster imboldened with the presence of the Scotish Army, and with the late discomfiture which Earle *Richard Burcke* sustained at Coynes, denyed their alleagance openly, and conspired in the behalfe of *Edward le Bruise*, whom they proclaimed King. The Lord Iustice had assembled such force against them, under the leading of the *Geraldines* and *Poweres*, that each of them was thought sufficient, by himself, to winne the field. But suddainely the two Captaines, and their adherents squared, so as no good conclusion might be inferred: *Roger Mortimer*, trusting by their discention to imbeazell a victory, culled out fifteene thousand Soul-

1317.

diours, and met the Scots at Kenles, where he was shamefully foyled, his men (as folke supposed) wilfully forsaking him, and bearing false hearts. Vp start the Irish of Mounster at these newes, the *Ocooles*, *Obrines*, and *Omores*, and wasted with fire and sword from Arkloe to Leix; with them coped the Lord Iustice and made a great slaughter, fourescore of their heads were set upon Divelin Castle.

The mean while *Edward Bruise* raigned in Vlster, held his courts, pronounced his enemies traytors, abandoned the English blood, exhorted the Irish of Leinster to doe the like, whereupon *Donald* the sonne of *Arthur Mac Morrow*, a slip of the royall family, displayed his banner within two miles of Divelin, but him *Traherone* tooke prisoner, sent him to the castle of Dublin, whence he escaped, slyding downe from the Turret, by a cord that one *Adam Maugle* brought him. The said *Maugle* was drawne and hanged.

Roger Mortimer[x] Lord Iustice pacified the displeasure, betweene *Richard* Earle of Vlster, and the Nobles that had put the said Earle under surety, misdeeming him of certaine riots committed against the kings subjects, wherby the Scots caught strength and courage, whose ravening, caused such horrible scarcity in Vlster, that the Souldiours which in the yeare before abused the Kings authority, to purvey themselves of wanton fare, surfeited with flesh and aquavitæ all the

[x] 1317.

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Lent long, prolled and pilled insatiably without neede, and without regard of poore people, whose onely provision they devoured: Those (I say) now living in slavery under *Le Bruise*, starved for hunger, when they had first experienced many lamentable shifts, as in scratching the dead bodyes out of their graves, in whose skulls they boyled the same flesh, and fed thereof. *Mortymer* went over to the King indebted to the Citizens of Divelin for his viands, a thousand poundes, whereof he payde not one smulkin, and many a bitter curse carried with him to the sea.

VVilliam Archbishop of Cashell Lord Chancellor was left Lord Warden of Ireland, in whose time *Bermingham* aforesaid being generall of the field, and under him Captains, *Tute*, *Verdon*, *Tripton*, *Sutton*, *Cusacke* and *Manpas*, led forth the Kings power against *Edward Bruise*, pitching by Dundalke, the Primate of Ardmagh personally accompanying our souldiours, blessing their enterprise, and assoyling them all, ere ever they began to encounter. In this conflict the Scots were vanquished full & whole, 2000. slaine, & *Manpas* that pressed into the throng to meet with *Bruise*, was found in the search, dead, covering the dead body of *Bruise*. Thus dissolved the Scottish Kingdome in Ireland, and *Bermingham* sending his head to the King, received in recompence the Earledome of Lowth, and to his heires for ever the Barony of Ardee and Athenry.

1318.

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Alexander Bigmore, [z] Archbishop of Divelin, sued to Pope *Iohn* the 21. (so I reckon, omitting the schismaticke and dame *Ioane*) for priviledge of an Vniversitie to bee ordained in Divelin, which tooke effect, and the first three Doctors of Divinity the said Bishop did create, *VVilliam Hardit* a Fryar preacher, *Henry Coggy* a Fryar minor, Fryar *Edmund Kernerdin*, & one Doctor of the Canon law, *VVilliam Rodiard* Deane of S. *Patricks*, Chancellour of the said Vniversity, who kept their termes & commencements solemnely, neither was the same ever disfranchised, but onely through variety of time discontinued, and now since the subversion of monasteries utterly extinct, vvherein the Divines vvere cherished, and open exercise maintained. A motion vvas made in this last Parliament to erect it againe, contributions layde together, Sir *Henry Sidney* then Lord Deputy, proffered 20. pound lands, & one hundred pounds in money, others followved after their abilities & devotions, the name devised Master *Acworth*, *Plantotium* of *Plantaganet* and *Bullyne*. But vvhile they disputed of a convenient place for it, and of other circumstances, they let fall the principall.

Thomas Fitz Iohn, Earle of Kildare, Lord Iustice, to vvhom succeeded *Bermingham* Earle of Louth, and to him Sir *Iohn Darcy*. At this time [a] lived in the Diocesse of Ossorye, the Lady *Alice Kettle*, vvhom the Bishop ascited to purge the same of inchaunting

[z] An. 1320. [a] 1321.

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and Witch-craft objected to her, and to *Petronilla*, and *Basill* her complices. They charged her mightily to have carnall conference with a spirit called *Robin Artison*, to whom shee sacrifized in the high way nine redde Cockes, and nine Peacockes eyes, shee swept the streetes of Kilkenny betweene compleere and twilight, raking all the filth towards the doores of her sonne *VVilliam Outlawe*, murmuring these wordes, *To the house of VVilliam my sonne, hye all the wealth of Kilkenny towne.* At the first conviction they abjured and accepted pennance, but were very shortly found in relapse, and then *Petronilla* was burned at Kilkenny, the other twayne could not be had: shee at the houre of her death, accused the said *VVilliam* as privy to their sorceyres, whom the Bishop helde in durance nine weekes, forbidding his keepers to eate or drink with him, or to speake with him more then once in the day, by procurement of *Arnold le Power*, then Senischall of Kilkenny hee was delivered, & corrupted the Senischall to vexe the Bishop, which he did, thrusting him into prison for three moneths. In ryfling the closet of *Alice*, they found a wafer of Sacramentall bread, having the devils name stamped thereon, instead of IESUS, and a pype of oyntment, wherewith shee greased a staffe, whereon shee ambled through thicke and thinne, when and how shee listed. This businesse troubled all the Cleargy of Ireland, the rather for that the Lady was supported by Noblemen: and lastly, conveyed into England, since which time no man wotteth what became of her.

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CAP. VI.

Edward the third, and Richard the second.

SCARCELY vvas this businesse ended, [b] but another devill possessed another franticke gentleman of the nation of the *O-tooles* in Leinster, named *Adam Duffe*, vvho denyed obstinately the Incarnation of Christ, the Trinity of persons in unity of the God-head, the resurrection of the flesh. Hee called the Holy Scripture, a fable; the blessed Virgin, a vvhore; the See Apostolick, erroneous; for vvhich assertions hee was burned in Hogging greene besides Divelin.

Roger Outlaw, Prior of S. *Iohns* of Ierusalem at Kilmainham, [c] became Lord Iustice. Great variance arising betvveene the *Geraldines*, *Butlers*, and *Berminghams* on the one side, and the *Powers* and *Burkes* on the other side, for tearming the Earle of Kildare a Rymer. The Lord Iustice summoned a Parliament to accord them, wherein he himselfe was faine to cleare the slaunder of heresie fathered upon him by *Richard Ledred*, Bishop of Ossory. The Bishoppe had given a declaration against *Arnold le Power*, convented and convict in his consistory of certaine hereticall opinions; but because the beginning of *Powers* accusations concerned the Iustices kinsman, and the Bishop was mistrusted to prosecute his owne wrong, and the person

[b] 1327. [c] 1328.

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of the man, rather then the fault, a day was limited for the justifying of the bill, the party being apprehended and respited thereunto. This dealing, the Bishop (who durst not stirre out of Kilkenny, to prosecute his accusation) reputed partiall; and when by meanes thereof the matter hanged in suspence, hee infamed the said Prior, as an abbettour and favourer of *Arnolds* heresie. The Prior submitted himselfe to the tryall, and three several Proclamations were cryed in Court, that any man might lawfully come in and indict, accuse or say evidence against the Iustice: none came: then passed the Councell a decree, commanding to appeare at Divelin, all Bishops, Abbots, Pryors, the Majors of Divelin, Corke, Limericke, Waterford, Droghedah, the Sheriffes, Knights, and Senischalls of every shire. Out of them all they sorted sixe Inquisitours, which in secrecie examined the Bishoppes and persons aforesaid one by one, who with universall consent deposed for the Pryor, that to their judgements hee was a zealous and faithfull childe of the Catholique Church. The meane while deceased *le Power* prisoner in the Castle, and because he stood unpurged, long he laye unburyed.

Sir *Iohn Darcye* Lord Iustice.[d]

The Irish of Leinster made insurrections, so did *Magoghigan* in Meth, and *Obrien* in Mounster, whom *VVilliam* Earle of Vlster, and *Iames* of Ormond van-

[d] 1339.

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quished. In which stirre, *VVilliam Bermingham*, a warriour incomparable, was found halting, and was condemned to dye by *Roger Outlawe*, Pryor of Kilmainam, then Lieutenant to the Lord Iustice, and so hanged was hee, a Knight among thousands odde and singular. So outragious were the Leinster Irish that in one Church they burned 80. innocent soules, asking no more but the life of their Priest then at Masse, whom they notwithstanding sticked with their Iavelins, spurned the blessed Sacrament, and wasted all with fire, neither forced they the Popes interdiction, nor any censures ecclesiasticall denounced against them: But maliciously persevered in that fury, till the Citizens of Weixford tamed them, slevv foure hundred in one skirmish, the rest flying, vvere all drenched in the vvater of Slane.

Thomas Burgh [e] Treasurer and Lieutenant of Ireland, vvhile *Darcy* Lord Iustice pursued the murtherers of *VVilliam Bourk* Earle of Vlster, a young gentleman of tvventy yeares olde, vvhom the seditions of *Maundevill* murdered besides Cragfergus. And vvhen hee had scourged those Traytours, he entred Scotland vvith an army and might have possessed the Ilands besides, had they bene vvorth the keeping, into vvhich Ilands besides him and *Sussex* the late Lieutenant of Ireland no Governour ever yet adventured.

Sir *Iohn Carleton* Lord Iustice, [f] vvith vvhom dame

[e] 1295. [f] 1297.

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his brother *Thomas* Bishop of Hereford, Lord Chauncellor, and *Iohn Rice* Treasurer, and tvvo hundred Welchmen souldiours. The Bishop became Lord Iustice, in vvhose time[g] all the Irish of Ireland vvere at defiance vvith the English, but vvere shortly calmed by the Earles of Kildare and Desmond.

Sir *Iohn Darcy* by the Kings Letters Patents Lord Iustice of Ireland during life, in the fourteenth yeare of *Edward* the third, vvhich king abused by some corrupt informers,[h] called in under his signet royall, fraunchises, and liberties, and graunts vvhatsoever his predecessours had ratified to the Realme of Ireland, and to every person thereof. This revocation vvas taken very displeasantly.

The English of birth, and the English of bloud falling to vvords, and divided in factions about it. The Irish laye wayting for the contention, so as the Realme was even upon point to give over all and rebell. For remedy the Iustice began a Parliament at Divelin, whereto the nobles refused to make apparance, & assembled themselves quietly without disturbance at Kilkenny, where they with the Commons agreed upon certaine questions to be demaunded of the King by way of supplication, by which questions they partly signified their griefes: Those in effect were,

1. How a Realme of warre might be governed

[g] 1338. [h] 1340.

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by one, both unskilfull and unable in all warlike services.

2. How an officer under the king that entred very poore, might in one yeare grow to more excessive wealth, then men of great patrimony in many yeares.

3. How it happened seeing they all were called Lords of their owne, that the Lord of them all was not a penny the richer for them.

The Prince of this repining was *Morice* Earle of Desmond,[i] whom *Vfford* the now Lord Iustice in paine of forfeiture of all his lands commaunded to the Parliament at Dublin, and there put him under arrest, delivered him by main prise of the tvvo Earles *Vlster* & *Ormond*, & of 28. knights & squiers: All vvhich, except the Earles & tvvo knights, lost their inheritance by rigour of the said *Vfford*, because *Desmond* had escaped.

Therefore at the decease of the Lords Iustice, vvhich ensued the next yeare, Bonfires and gayvdes vvere solemnized in all the Land: his Lady vvas a miserable sott, and led him to extortion and bribery, much he clipped the prerogatives of the Church, and vvas so hated, that even in the sight of the country, he vvas robbed vvithout rescue, by *Mac Carty*, notwithstanding

[i] 1345.

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he gathered powver, and dispersed the rebellions of Vlster.

Robert Darcy Lord Iustice,[k] chosen by the Councell, untill the Kings charter came to Sir *Iohn Fitz Morrice*, vvho inlarged *Fitz Thomas* Earle of Kildare, left in holde by *Vfford*, *Fitz Morrice* vvas deposed, and Sir *Walter Bermingham* elected, who procured safe conduct for *Desmond* to pleade his right before the King, where he was liberally intreated & allowed towards his expences there twenty shillings a day at the Princes charge, in consideration of which courtesie to his kinsman, the Earle of Kildare, accompanyed with diverse Lords, Knights, and chosen horsemen, served the King at Callice, a towne thought impregnable, and returned after the winning thereof in great pompe and jollity.

Iohn Archer of Kilmainam, Lieutenant to the Lord Iustice,[l] to whom succeeded Baron *Carew*, after Carew followed Sir *Thomas Rokesby* knight.

This yeare m dyed *Kenurick Shereman*, sometimes Major of Divelin, a Benefacteur to every Church and religious house twenty miles round about the citty: his legacies to poore and others, besides the liberalitie shewed in his life time, amounted to 3000 marks: with such plenty were our fathers blessed, that cheerefully

[k] 1346. [l] 1348. [m] 1350.

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gave of their true winnings to needfull purposes, whereas our time that gaineth excessively, and whineth at every farthing to be spent on the poore, is yet oppressed vvith scarcity and beggery.

The same time dvvelled in Vlster Sir *Robert Savage*, a vvealthie Knight, vvho the rather to preserve his ovvne, beganne to vvall & fortifie his Mannour houses, vvith castles and plyes against the Irish enemy, exherting his heire Sir *Henry Savage*, to intend that Worke so beneficiall for himselfe and his posterity. Father (quoth he) I remember the Proverbe, better a Castle of bones, then of stones, vvhere strength and courage of valiant men are to helpe us. Never vvill I, by the grace of God, cumber my selfe vvith dead vvalls, my fort shall be vvheresoever young blouds be stirring, and vvhere I finde roome to fight. The father in a fume let lye the building, and forsvvore it. But yet the vvant thereof, and such like, hath beene the decaye aswell of the *Savages*, as of all the Englishe Gentlemen in Vlster, as the lacke of vvalled townes is also the principall occasion of the rudenesse and wildenesse in other partes of Ireland. This *Savage* having prepared an army against the Irish, allowed to every Souldiour before he buckled with the enemy, a mighty draught of Aquavitæ, Wine, or old Ale, and killed in provision for their returne, beeffes, venison, and foule great plenty, which diverse of his Captains misliked, & considering the successe of warre to be uncertaine, esteemed it better pollicy to poyson the cates or to doe

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them away, then to cherish a sort of Catives with princely foode: If ought should happen to themselves in this adventure of so few, against so many. Hereat smyled the Gentleman and said: Tush yee are too full of envy, this world is but an Inne whereunto you have no speciall interest, but are onely tennants at the will of the Lord. If it please him to commaund us from it, as it were from our lodging, & to set other good fellowes in our roomes, what hurt shall it be for us to leave them some meate for their suppers, let them hardly winne it, and weare it, If they enter our dwellings, good manners would no lesse but to welcome them, with such fare as the country breedeth, and with all my heart much good may it doe them: Notwithstanding I presume so farre upon your noble courage, that verily my minde giveth me, that wee shall returne at night, and banquet our selves with our owne store, and so they did, having slaine 3000. Irishmen.

Morrice Fitz Thomas Earle of Desmond, [n] Lord Iustice during life, whom followed Sir *Thomas Rokesbye* a knight, sincere and upright of conscience, who being controlled for suffering himselfe to be served in wooden Cuppes; Answered, these homely Cuppes and dishes pay truely for what they containe, I had rather drinke out of wood, and pay gold and silver, then drinke out of gold, and make wooden payment.

Almericus de Sancto Amando, Iames Butler Earle

[n] 1356.

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of Ormond, [o] and *Morrice Fitz Thomas* Earle of Kildare, [p] Iustices of Ireland by turnes. [q] To this last, the Kings letters appointed in yearely fee, for his office 500. pounds, with promise that the said governour should finde twenty great horse to the field, and should bee the tvventieth man in going out against the enemy, which allovvance and conditions at these days, I thinke were ordinary.

Leonell the third sonne of *Edward* the third Duke of Clarence, [r] and in the right of his wife, Earle of Vlster, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He published an inhibition, to all of Irish birth, that none of them should approach his army, nor be imployed in service of the warres. *Obrene* he vanquished suddainely, but no man wist how, an hundred of his principall Souldiours in garrison were missed, whose dispatch, that seditious decree was thought to have procured, wherefore hee advised himselfe and united the people, shewing alike fatherly care towards them all, and ever after prospered, Knights he created these Gentlemen, the worthiest then in Chivalry, and at this day continuing in great worship, *Preston*, now the house of Gormanstowne, *Holywood*, *Talbot*, *Cusacke*, *Delahide*, *Patricke*, *Robert* and *Iohn de Fraxinis*. The exchequer he removed to Catherlagh, and bestowed in furnishing that towne 500. pounds.

Gerald Fitz Morrice Earle of Desmond, Lord

[o] 1357. [p] 1359.
[q] 1360. [r] 1361.

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Iustice, [s] untill the comming of *VVilliam de VVindsore*, [t] Lieutenant to the King, then in the last yeare of *Edward* the third [u] ruling the realme, under the name of Lord Governour, and keeper of Ireland.

¶ *At the yeare* 1370. *all the Notes written by* Flatsbury *doe end, and from hence to this day, nothing is extant orderly gathered, the rest I have collected out of sundry monuments, authorityes, and pamphlets.*

During the raigne of *Richard* [v] the second, Lieutenants and Iustices of Ireland, are specially recorded, the two *Mortimers*, *Edmund* and *Roger* Earles of March, *Phillip Courtney* the kings cousin, *Iames* Earle of Ormond, and *Robert Vere* Earle of Oxford, Marquesse of Divelin, and Lord Chamberlaine, who was created Duke of Ireland by Parliament, and was credited with the whole Dominion of the Realme [w] by graunt for tearme of life, nothing paying therefore, passing all writs, all offices, as Chancellor, Treasurer, Chiefe Iustice, Admirall, his owne Lieutenant, and other inferiour charges under his own Teste.

The mean while King *Richard* [x] afflicted impatiently with the decease of Queene *Anne* his wife,

[s] 1367. [t] 1369. [u] 1377.

[v] Recordes of th' exchequer sought up by M. Iohn Thomas remembrancer, Iohn Stow. Records of excheq. an. 9. Rich. 1.

[w] 1385. [x] 1394.

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nor able without many teares to behold his pallaces, and chambers of Estate, which represented unto him the solace past, and doubled his sorrow, sought some occasion of businesse and visited Ireland, where diverse Lords and Princes of Vlster renewed their homage, and he placing *Roger Mortimer* his Lieutenant, returned quietly, but within foure yeares after, informed of the trayterous death of *Mortimer*, whom he loved entirely, and being wonderfull eager in hastening the revenge thereof upon the Irish, he journeyed thither the second time, [y] levied infinite subsidies of money, by penall exactions, and with his absence as also with those injuries, fed the hatred and opportunity of the conspiratours at home, for *Henry* Duke of Lancaster, intercepted the Kingdome, whose sonne with the Duke of Glocesters sonne, King *Richard* shut up in the Castle of Trim, and then shipped course into England, tooke land at Milford Haven, found his defence so weake and unsure, that to avoide further inconvenience and perill of himselfe and his friends, he condiscended to resigne the Crowne.

[y] 1399.

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CAP. VII.

The House of Lancaster, Henry the Fourth, Henry the fift, Henry the sixt.

ALEXANDER Bishop of Meth,[z] Lieutenant of Ireland, under *Thomas Lancaster* the King's brother, so was also the worshipfull Knight Sir *Stephen Scroope*, whom for his violence and extortion before used, in the same office under King *Richard*, the common voyce and out-cry of poore people damned.[a] This report hearing the Lady his wife, she would in no wise assent to live in his company there, but if he sware a solemne oath on the Bible, that wittingly he should wrong no Christian creature in the land, that duely and truely he should see payment made for all expences, and hereof, she said, she had made a vow to Christ so deliberately, that unlesse it were on his part firmly promised, she could not without perill of her soule goe with him: her husband assented, and accomplished her boone effectually, recovered a good opinion, schooled his Caters, enriched the country, continued a plentifull house, remissions of great fines, remedyes for persons endamaged to the Prince, pardons of lands and lives he granted so charitably and discreetely, that his name was never

[z] 1329.

[a] Iames Young in precepts of governement to the Earle of Ormond cap. 5.

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uttered among them, without many blessings and prayers, and so cheerefully they served him against the Irish, that in one day he spoyled *Arthur Mac Murrough*, brent his country, restored *O-Carrol* to the towne of Callane, with-held by *VValter Burke*, slew a multitude of Kerneghes, and quieted Leinster. Not long before, the Major of Divelin *Iohn Drake*, [b] with his band out of the Citty, had slaine of the same Irish Outlawes 400.

In this Kings raigne the inhabitants of the county and towne of Corke, [c] being tyred with perpetuall oppressions of their Irish borderers, complained themselves in a generall writing, directed to the Lord of Rutheland and Corke, the Kings Deputy, and to the Councell of the Realme, then assembled at Divelin, which Letter because it openeth the decay of those partes, and the state of the Realme in times past, I have thought good to enter here as it was delivered me, by *Francis Agard* Esquire, one of her Majesties privy Councell in Ireland.

It may please your wisedomes, [d] to have pittie of us the Kings poore subjects, within the county of Corke, or else we be cast away for ever, for where there was in this countie these Lords by name, besides Knights,

[b] 1402.

[c] Records of Christ Church in Divelin.

[d] A letter from Corke coppied out of an old Record bearing no date.

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Esquiers, Gentlemen, and Yeoman, to a great number, that might dispend yearelie 800. pounds, 600. pounds, 400. pounds, 200. pounds, 100. pounds, 100. markes, 20. pounds, 20. markes, 10. pounds, some more, some lesse, to a great number, besides these Lords following.

First the Lord Marquesse *Caro* his yearely revenues was, besides Dorzey Hauen and other Creekes, 2200. pounds sterling.

The Lord *Barnevale* of Bearehaven, his yearely revenues was, beside Bearehaven and other Creekes, 1600. pounds sterling.

The Lord *Vggan* of the great Castle, his yearely revenues was, besides havens and creekes, 1300. pounds sterling.

The Lord *Balram* of Emforte, his yearly revenues was, besides havens and creekes, 1300. pounds sterling.

The Lord *Courcy* of Kilbretton his yearely revanues, besides havens and creekes, 1500. pounds sterling.

The Lord *Mandevil* of Barrenstelly his yearely revenues, besides havens and creekes, 1500. pounds sterling.

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The Lord *Arundell* of the strand his yearely revenues, besides havens and creekes, 1500. pounds sterling.

The Lord *Baron* of the Guard his yearely revenues, besides havens and creekes, 1100. pounds sterling.

The Lord *Sleynie* of Baltimore his yearely revenue, besides havens and creeks, 800. pounds sterling.

The Lord *Roche* of Poole-castle his yearely revenue, besides havens and creekes, 1000. pounds sterling.

The Kings Majesty hath the Lands of the late young *Barry* by forfeiture, the yearely revenue whereof, besides two rivers and creekes, and all other casualties is, 1800. pounds sterling.

And at the end of this Parliament Your Lordship with the Kings most noble Councell may come to Corke, and call before you all these Lords and other Irish men, and binde them in paine of losse of life, lands and goods, that never any of them doe make warre upon another, without licence or commandement of you my Lord Deputy, & the Kings Councell, for the utter destruction of these parts, is that onely cause, and once all the Irish men, and the King's enemies were driven into a great valley, called Glanehought, betwixt two great mountaines, called Maccorte or the

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leprous Iland, and their they lived long and many yeares, with their white meat till at the last these English Lords fell at variance among themselves, and then the weakest part tooke certaine Irish men to take his part, and so vanquished his enemy, and thus fell the English Lords at variance among themselves, till the Irish men were stronger then they, and drave them away and now have the whole country under them, but that the Lord *Roche*, the Lord *Courcy*, and the Lord *Barry* onely remaine, with the least part of their auncestors possessions, and young *Barry* is there upon the Kings portion, paying his Grace never a penny Rent. Wherefore we the Kings poore subjects, of the Citty of Corke, Kinsale, and Yowghall, desire your Lordship to send hither two good Iustices, to see this matter ordered, and some English Captaines, with twenty English men that may be Captaines over us all, and we will rise with them to redresse those enormities, all at our owne costs. And if you doe not, we be all cast away, and then farewell Mounster for ever. And if you will not come nor send, we will send over to our Liege Lord, the King, and complaine on you all. Thus farre the letter.

And at this day the Citty of Corke is so encumbred with unquiet neighbours of great power, that they are forced to watch their gates continually, to keepe them shut at service times, at meales, from sunne set, to sunne arising; nor suffer any stranger to enter there

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with his weapon, but to leave the same at a lodge appointed. They walke out for recreation at seasons, with strength of men furnished, they match in wedlocke among themselves, so that welnigh the whole citty is allyed together. It is to be hoped that the late sent over Lord President of Mounster, Sir *Iohn Parrot*, who hath chosen the same place to abide in, as having greatest neede of a Governour resident, would ease the inhabitants of this feare, and scourge the Irish Outlawes that annoy the whole region of Mounster.

Henry the 4.[e] in the 10. yeare of his raigne, gave the Sword to the Citty of Divelin, which Citty was first governed, as appeareth by their auncient seale, called, *Signum propositurae*, by a Provost, and in the 14. yeare of H. the 3. by a Major, & two Bayliffes, which Bayliffes were changed into Sheriffes, by Charter of *Edward* the 6. an. 1547. This mayorality both for state and charge of that office, and for the bountifull hospitality exceedeth any Citty in England, except London.

While *Henry* the 5. reigned, I finde lieutenants and deputyes of Ireland specially remembred, *Iohn Talbott* of Hollamshire Lord of Furnyvall. *Thomas de Lancaster*, Senischa of England, and *Stephen le Scroope* his Deputy, *Iohn* Duke of Bedford then also Lord Keeper of England, and the noble Earle of Ormond.

[e] An. 1408.

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Sir *Iames Butler*,[f] whose grandsire was *Iames* surnamed the chast, for that of all vices hee most abhorred the sinne of the flesh, and in subduing of the same gave notable example. In the red Moore of Athye (the sun almost lodged in the West, and miraculously standing still in his epicycle the space of three houres till the feat was accomplished, and no pit in that bogge annoying either horse or man on his part) he vanquished *Omore* and his terrible Army with a few of his owne, and with the like number *Arthur Mac Murrough*, at whose might and puissance, all Leinster trembled.[g] To the imitation of this mans worthinesse, the compiler of certaine precepts touching the rule of a Common-wealth, exciteth his Lord the said Earle in diverse places of that Worke[h] incidently, eftsoones putting him in minde that the Irish beene false by kinde, that it were expedient, and a worke of Charity to execute upon them (willfull and malicious transgressours) the Kings Lawes somewhat sharpely, [i]That *Odempsye* being winked at a while, abused that small time of sufferance, to the injury of the Earle of Kildare, intruding unjustly upon the Castle of Ley, from whence the said Deputy had justly expelled him, and put the Earle in possession thereof, that notvvithstanding their oathes and pledges, yet they are no longer true then they feele themselves the vveaker.

This Deputye tamed the *Obriens*,[k] the *Burckes*,

[f] 1421. [g] In the translation of Cambrensis c. 57.

[h] Prec. of government, c. 27. [i] ca. 28. [k] ca. 43.

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Macbanons, Ogaghnraghte, Manus Mac Mahoune, all the Captaines of Thomand, and all this in three moneths. The Cleargye of Divelin tvvice every vveeke in solemne procession praying for his good successe against these disordered persons, vvhich novv in every quarter of Ireland, had degenerated to their olde trade of life, and repyned at the English.

Lieutenants to *Henry* the sixt over the Realme of Ireland were *Edmund*[l] Earle of Marche, and *Iames* Earle of Ormond his Deputy[m] *Iohn Sutton* Knight, Lord *Dudley*, and Sir *Thomas Strange*, his Deputy[n] Sir *Thomas Standley*, and Sir *Christopher Plunket* his Deputy[o] *Lyon* Lord Welles, and the Earle of Ormond his Deputy, [p] *Iames* Earle of Ormond, the Kings Lieutenant by himselfe, *Iohn* Earle of Shrewesbury, and the Archbishop of Divelin, Lord Iustice in his absence.

Richard Plantagenet,[q] Duke of Yorke, father of *Edward* the fourth, and Earle of Vlster, had the office of Lieutenant by letters Patents, during the space of ten yeares, who deputed under him at severall times, the Baron of Delvin, *Roland Fitz Eustace* knight, *Iames* Earle of Ormond, and *Thomas Fitz Morrice* Earle of Kildare. To this *Richard* then resciant in Divelin, was borne within the castle there, his second

[l] An. 7. [m] An. 12. [n] An. 10.
[o] An. 22. [p] An. 26. [q] An. 27.

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son *George*, Duke of Clarence, afterwards drowned in a butt of Malmsey: his god fathers at the front were the Earles of Ormond and Desmond.[r]

Whether the commotion of *Iacke Cade* an Irishman borne, naming himselfe *Mortimer*, and so clayming cousinage to diverse noble houses, proceeded from this crew, it is uncertaine:[s] surely the Duke was thereof vehemently mistrusted, & immediately began his tumults, which because our English histories discourse at large, I omit as impertinent.

Those broyles being couched for a time, *Richard* held himselfe in Ireland, being lately by Parliament ordained Protector of the Realme of England, leaving his agent in the Court his brother the Earle of Salisbury[t] Lord Chauncellour, to whom he declared by letters, the trouble then toward in Ireland, which letter exemplified by Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Deputy, a great searcher and preserver of Antiquities, as it came to my hands, I thinke it convenient here to set downe.

To the right worshipfull and with all my heart entirely beloved brother, the Earle of Shrewesbury.

Right worshipfull and with all my heart entirely beloved Brother, I commend mee unto you as heartily as I can.

[r] Records of Christ church. [s] 1450. Io. Ma. l. 6. c. 16.
[t] 1458.

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And like it you to wit, that sith I wrote last unto the King our soveraigne Lord his Highnes, the Irish enemy, that is to say, *Magoghigan*, and with him three or foure Irish Captaines, associate with a great fellowship of English rebells, notwithstanding, that they were within the King our Soveraigne Lord his power, of great malice, and against all truth, have maligned against their legiance, and vengeably have brent a great towne of mine inheritance, in Meth, called Ramore, and other villages thereabouts, and murdered and brent both men, women, and children, without mercy. The which enemies be yet assembled in woods and forts, wayting to doe the hurt and grievance to the Kings subjects that they can thinke or imagine, for which cause I write at this time unto the Kings Highnes, and beseech his good grace for to hasten my payment for this land, according to his letters of vvarrant, novv late directed unto the Treasurer of England, to the intent I may vvage men in sufficient number, for to resist the malice of the same enemyes, and punish them in such vvyse, that other vvhich vvould doe the same, for lacke of resistance in time, may take example; for doubtlesse, but if my payment bee had in all haste, for to have men of vvarre in defence and safe-guard of this Land, my povver cannot stretch to keepe it in the Kings obeysance. And very necessity vvill compell mee to come into England to live there, upon my poore livelode, for I had lever bee dead, then any inconvenience should fall thereunto in my default; for it shall never bee chronicled, nor re-

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maine in scripture, by the grace of God, that Ireland vvas lost by my negligence. And therefore I beseech you right vvorshipfull brother, that you will hold to your hands instantly, that my payment may bee had at this time, in eschuing all inconveniences, for I have example in other places, more pitty it is for to dread shame; and for to acquite my truth unto the Kings Highnes, as my dutie is. And this I pray and exhort you good brother, to shew unto his good grace, and that you willbe so good, that this language may be enacted at this present Parliament for my excuse in time to come, and that you will bee good to my servant *Roger Roe* the bearer hereof, and to mine other servants in such things as they shall pursue unto the kings Highnes: And to give full faith and credence unto the report of the said *Roger*, touching the said maters Right worshipfull, and with all my heart entirely beloved brother, our blessed Lord God preserve and keepe you in all honour, prosperous estate and felicity, and graunt you right good life and long. Written at Divelin the 15. of Iune.

Your faithfull true brother,
Richard Yorke.

Of such power was *Mageghigan* in those dayes, who as he wan and kept it by the sword, so now he liveth but a meane Captaine, yeelding his winnings to the stronger. This is the misery of lawlesse people, resembling the wyldenesse of the rude vvorld, vvherein

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every man vvas richer or poorer then other, as he vvas in might and violence more or lesse enabled.

Heere beganne factions of the nobility in Ireland, favouring diverse sides that strived for the Crovvne of England, for *Richard* in those tenne yeares of government, exceedingly tyed unto him the hearts of the noblemen and gentlemen in this land, vvhereof diverse vvere scattered and slaine vvith him at Waterford,[u] as the contrary part vvas also the next yeare by *Edward* Earle of Marche, the Dukes brother, at *Mortimers* crosse in Wales, in vvhich meane time the Irish vvaxed hardye,[v] and usurped the English Countreyes insufficiently defended, as they had done by like opportunity in the latter end of *Richard* the second. These two seasons did set them so a-floate, that henceforwards they could never be cast out from their forcible possessions, holding by plaine wrong all Vlster, and by certaine Irish Tenures, no little portions of Mounster and Connaght, left in Meth and Leinster, where the civill subjects of English bloud did ever most prevaile

[u] 1459. [v] 1460.

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CAP. VIII.

Edward the fourth, and Edward his sonne. Richard the third, & Henry the seventh.[w]

THOMAS FITZ MORICE Earle of Kildare,[x] Lord Iustice untill the third yeare of *Edward* the fourth, since which time the Duke of Clarence aforesaid, brother to the King, had the office of Lieutenant, while he lived, and made his Deputies in sundry courses, *Thomas* Earle of Desmond,[y] *Iohn Tiptoft*, Earle of Worcester[z] the Kings cozen, *Thomas* Earle of Kildare,[a] *Henry* Lord Graye.[b] Great was the credit of the *Geraldines*, ever when the house of Yorke prospered, and likewise the *Butlers* thryved under the bloud of Lancaster, for which cause the Earle of Desmond remained many yeares Deputy to *George* Duke of Clarence his god-brother, but when he had spoken certaine disdainfull words against the late marryage of King *Edward* with the Lady *Elizabeth Gray*, the said Lady being now Queene, caused his trade of life, (after the Irish manner, contrary to sundry old statutes enacted in that behalfe) to be sifted and examined by *Iohn* Earle of Worcester his successour. Of which treasons he was attaint and con-

[w] Ann. Reg. 1.
[x] Ann. D. 1460.
[y] An Reg. 3.
[z] An. Reg. 7.
[a] An. 10.
[b] An. 18.

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demned, and for the same beheaded at Droghedah. [c] *Iames* the father of this *Thomas* of Desmond, being suffered and not controuled, during the government of *Richard* Duke of Yorke his godsip: and of *Thomas* Earle of Kildare his kinsman put upon the Kings subjects within the Countyes of Waterford, Corke, Kerry, and Limericke, the Irish impositions of Coyne and Liverie, Cartings, carriages, loadings, cosherings, bonnaght, and such like, which customes are the very nurse and teat of all Irish enormities, and extort from the poore tennants everlasting Sesse, allowance of meate and money, their bodies and goods in service, so that their horses and their Galloglashes lye still upon the Farmers, eate them out, begger the Countrey, foster a sort of idle vagabonds, ready to rebell if their Lord commaund them, ever nusseled in stealth and robberyes. These evill presidents given by the Father, the sonne did exercise being Lord Deputy, to whome the reformation of that disorder especially belonged, notwithstanding the same fault being winked at in others, and with such rigour avenged in him, it was manifestly taken for a quarrell sought and picked.

Two yeares after, the said Earle of Worcester [d] lost his head, while *Henry* the 6. taken out of the towre, was set up againe, and King *Edward* proclaymed Vsurper, and then was Kildare enlarged, whom being likewise attainte, they thought also to have ridde, and

[c] 1467. [d] 1469.

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shortly both the Earles of Kildare and Desmond were restored to their bloud by Parliament.

Sir *Rowland Eustace*,[e] Knight, sometimes Treasurer, and Lord Chauncellour, and lastly, Lord Deputye of Ireland, founded Saint *Fraucis* Abbey besides Kilcullen bridge.

Edward,[f] a yeare before his death, honoured his younger son *Richard* the infant, Duke of Yorke, with the title of Lieutenant over this Land. But his unnatural Vncle *Richard* the Third, when he had murdered the childe, and the elder brother called *Edward* the 5. He then preferred to that Office his ovvne sonne *Edward*, vvhose Deputy was *Gerald* Earle of Kildare, and bare that office a vvhile in *Henry* the 7. his dayes. To whom came the vvylie Priest, Sir *Richard Symonds*, & presented a lad his scholler, named *Lambert*, vvhom he fained to be the son of *George* Duke of Clarence, lately escaped the tovvre of London. And the child could his pedegree so readily, and had learned of the Priest such princely behaviour, that he lightly moved the said Earle, and many Nobles of Ireland tendering the Seed Royall of *Richard Plantagenet*, and *George* his sonne, as also maligning the advancement of the house of Lancaster, in *Henry* the seventh, either to thinke or make the world weene, they thought verily this childe to bee

[e] 1470. [f] 1481.

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Edward Earle of Warwicke, the Duke of Clarences lawfull Sonne.

And although King *Henry* more then halfe marred their sport, in shewing the right Earle through all the streetes of London, yet the Lady *Margaret* Duchesse of Burgoine, sister to *Edward* the fourth, *Iohn de la Poole* her Nephew, the Lord *Lovel*, Sir *Thomas Broughton* Knight, and diverse other Captaines of this conspiracy devised to abuse the colour of this young Earles name, for preferring their purpose, which if it came to good, they agreed to depose *Lambert*, and to erect the very Earle indeed now prisoner in the towre, for whose quarrell had they pretended to fight, they deemed it likely hee should have beene made away: Wherefore it was blazed in Ireland, that the King to mocke his subjects, had schooled a Boy to take upon him the Earle of Warwickes name, and had shewed him about London to blinde the eyes of simple folkes, and to defeate the lawfull Inheritour of the good Duke of Clarence, their countryman and Protectour during his life, to whose linage they also derived a title of the Crowne. In all haste they assembled at Direlin, and there in Christ-Church they Crowned this Idoll, honouring him with titles imperiall, feasting and triumphing, rearing mighty shoutes and cryes, carrying him from thence, to the Kings Castle upon tall mens shoulders, that he might be seene and noted, as he was surely an honourable Boy to looke upon. Thereupon ensued the Battle of Stoke, wherein *Lambert* and his

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Master were taken, but never executed, the Earle of *Lincolne*, the Lord *Lovel*, *Martine Swarte*, the Almaigne Captaine, and *Morice Fitz Thomas* Captaine of the Irish, were slaine, and all their power discomfited.

Iasper Duke of Bedford and Earle of Penbroke, [g] Lieutenant, and *VValter* Archbishop of Divelin his Deputy. In this time befell another like illusion of Ireland, procured from the Dutchesse aforesaid, and certaine Nobles of England, whereby was exalted as rightfull King of England, and undoubted Earle of Vlster, the counterfeit *Richard* Duke of Yorke preserved from King *Richards* cruelty, as his adherents faced the matter downe, and with this maygame lord, named indeede *Peter* (in scorne *Perkin*) *VVarbecke*, flattered themselves many yeares.

Then was Sir *Edward Poynings* [h] Knight, sent over Lord Deputy, with commission to apprehend his principall partners in Ireland, amongst whom was named *Gerald Fitz Gerald* Earle of Kildare, whose purgation the King (notwithstanding diverse avouching the contrary) did accept. After much adoe *Perkin* taken, confessed under his owne hand-writing the course of all his proceedings, whereof so much as concerneth Ireland, [i] I have heere borrowed out of *Halles* Chronicles.

I being borne in Flaunders, in the towne of Turney,

[g] 1490. [h] 1494. [i] an. Hen. 7. 14.

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put my selfe in service with a Britton, called *Pregent Meno*, the which brought me with him into Ireland, and when wee were there arrived in the towne of Corke, they of the towne (because I was arrayed with some cloathes of silke of my said Masters) threeped upon me, that I should be the Duke of Clarences sonne, that was before time at Divelin, and forasmuch as I denyed it, there was brought unto me the Holy Evangelists and the Crosse, by the Major of the towne, called *Iohn Lewellin*, and there I tooke my oath that I was not the said Dukes sonne, nor none of his blood. After this came to me an English man whose name was *Stephen Poytowe*, vvith one *Iohn VValter*, and svvare to me, that they knevv well that I vvas King *Richards* Bastard sonne, to whom I answered vvith like oathes that I vvas not. And then they advised me not to be affraide, but that I should take it upon me boldly: And if I vvould so doe, they vvould assist me with all their povver, against the King of England, and not onely they, but they vvere assured that the Earles of Desmond and Kildare, should doe the same, for they passed not vvhat part they tooke, so they might be avenged upon the King of England. And so against my will they made me to learne English, and taught me what I should doe and say: and after this, they called me *Richard* Duke of Yorke, second sonne to *Edward* the fourth, because King *Richards* Bastard sonne was in the hands of the King of England: And upon this, the said *Iohn VValter*, and *Stephen Poytowe*, *Iohn Tyler*, *Hubbert Burgh*, with many others,

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as the foresaid Earles, entred into this false quarrell, and within short time after the French King sent ambassadours into Ireland, whose names were *Lyot*, *Lucas*, and *Stephen Frayn*, and thence I went into Fraunce, and from thence into Flanders, and from Flanders againe into Ireland, and from Ireland into Scotland, and so into England.

Thus was *Perkins*[k] bragge twighted, from a milpost to a pudding pricke, and hanged was he the next yeare after.

Then in the yeare 1501. King *Henry* made Lieutenant of Ireland, his second sonne *Henry* as then Duke of Yorke, who afterwards raigned. To him was appointed Deputy, the aforesaid *Gerald* Earle of Kildare,[l] who accompanied with *Iohn Blacke* Major of Divelin, warred upon *VVilliam de Burgo*, *O-Brien*, and *Mac Nemarra*, *Ocarroll*, and the greatest power of Irish men, that had beene seene together since the conquest, under the hill of Knoctoe, in English the hill of Axes, sixe miles from Galway, and two miles from Ballinclare, *de Burgoes* mannor towne. *Mac VVilliam* and his Complices were there taken, his Souldiours that escaped the sword were pursued, flying five miles, great slaughter done, and many Captaines gotten, not one English man killed. The Earle at his returne was created knight of the Noble Order, and

[k] 1499.

[l] Records of Christ-Church 1504.

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flourished all his life long, of whom I shall bee occasioned to say somewhat in the next Chapter.

CAP. IX.

Henry the eight.

GERALD FITZ GERALD [m] Earle of Kildare a mighty made man, full of honour and courage, who had beene Lord Deputy and Lord Iustice of Ireland thirtie foure yeares, deceased the third of September, and lyeth buried in Christs Church in Divelin. Betweene him and *Iames Butler* Earle of Ormond, their owne jealousies fed with envy and ambition, kindled with certaine lewd factions, abbettors of either side: ever since the ninth yeare of *Henry* the seventh, when *Iames* of Ormond with a great army of Irish men, camping in S. *Thomas* Court at Divelin, [n] seemed to face the countenance and power of the Deputy: these occasions I say fostered a mallice betwixt them and their posterityes, many yeares after incurable, causes of much ruffle and unquietnes in the Realme, untill the confusion of the one house, and nonage of the other, discontinued their quarrels, which except their Inheritours have the grace to put up, and to love unfainedly, as

[m] 1513. From henceforward I have followed the relation of the wisest and most indifferent persons that I could acquaint myselfe withall in Ireland. CAMPION.

[n] Register of Majors.

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Gerald and *Thomas* doe now, may hap to turne their countryes to little good, and themselves to lesse.

Ormond was nothing inferiour to the other in stomacke, and in reach of pollicy farre beyond him; *Kildare* was in governement a milde man, to his enemies intractable, to the Irish such a scourge, that rather for despite of him then for favour of any part, they relyed upon the *Butlers*, came in under his protection, served at his call, performed by starts, as their manner is, the duty of good subjects.

Ormond was secret and drifty, of much moderation in speech, dangerous of every little wrinkle that touched his reputation. *Kildare* was open and passionable, in his moode desperate, both of word and deede, of the English welbeloved, a good Iusticier, a warriour incomparable, towards the Nobles that he favoured not somewhat headlong and unrulie, being charged before *Henry* the seventh, for burning the Church at Cashell, and many witnesses prepared to avouch against him, the truth of that article, he suddainly confessed the fact, to the great wondering and detestation of the Councell, when it was looked how he would justifie the matter, By Iesus (quoth he) I would never have done it, had it not beene told me that the Archbishop was within. And because the Archbishop was one of his busiest accusers there present, merrily laught the King at the plainenesse of the man, to see him alleadge that intent for excuse, which most of all did aggravate his

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fault. The last article against him they conceived in these tearmes, finally all Ireland cannot rule this Earle: No (quoth the King) then in good faith shall this Earle rule all Ireland. Thus was the accusation turned to a jest, the Earle returned Lord Deputy, shortly after created Knight of the Garter and so died. Marvell not if this successe were a corrosive to the adverse party, which the longer it held aloofe and bit the bridle, the more eagerly it followed his course, having once the sway and roome at will, as you may perceive hereafter.

Gerald Fitz Gerald sonne of the aforesaid Earle of Kildare, and Lord Deputy, who chased the nation of the *Tooles*, battered *Ocarrolls* o Castles, awed all the Irish of the land more & more. A Gentleman valiant and well spoken, yet in his latter time overtaken with vehement suspition of sundry Treasons. He of good meaning to unite the families, matched his Sister *Margaret Fitz Gerald*, with *Pierce Butler* Earle of Ossory, whom he also holpe to recover the Earledome of Ormond, whereinto after the decease of *Iames*, a Bastard brother had intruded.

Seven yeares together *Kildare* kept in credit and authority, notwithstanding the pushes given against him by secret heavers, enviers of his fortune, and nourishers of the old grudge, who sett him up to the Court of England by commission, and caused him there to be

* 1516.

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opposed with diverse interrogatories, touching the Earle of Desmond his Cousin, a notorious traytor, as they said. He left in his roome *Morice Fitz Thomas* Lord Iustice. After whom came over Lord Lieutenant, *Thomas Howard* Earle of Surrey, Grandfather to this Duke of Norfolke, accompanied with 200. of the Kings guarde. While he sate at Dinner in the Castle of Divelin, hee heard newes that *Oneale* with a mighty army was even in the mouth of the borders, ready to invade: Immediately men were levyed by the Major, and the next morrow joyning them to his band, the Lieutenant marched as farre as the water of Slane, where having intelligence of *Onealeſ* recoyle, hee dismissed the footemen, and pursued *Omore* with his horsemen, which *Omore* was said to lurke within certaine miles That espied a Gunner of *Omore*, and watching by a wood side discharged his peece at the very face of the Deputy, strake the visard of his helmet, and pierced no further (as God would.) This did he in manner recklesse what became of himselfe, so he might amaze them for a time, breake the swiftnesse of their following, and advantage the ffight of his Captaine, which thing he wanne with the price of his owne blood, for the Souldiours would no further, till they had searched all the corners of that wood, verily suspecting some ambush thereabout, and in severall knots ferretted out this Gunner, whom *Fitz VVilliams* and *Bedlowe* of the Roche were faine to mangle and hewe in peeces; because the wretch would never yeeld.

1581.

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In the meane while defiance proclaimed with Fraunce & Scotland both at once, moved the King to returne *Surrey* [q] out of Ireland, that he might employ him in those services, his prowesse, integrity, good nature and course of governement, the country much commendeth, and honoureth the name and family to this day.

Pierce Butler [r] Earle of Ossory Lord Deputy, *Kildare* attending the Kings pleasure for his dispatch, recovered favour at the instance of the Duke of Suffolke whose daughter, Dame *Elizabeth Graye* he espoused royally, and so departed home. Now there was a great partaker of all the Deputies Councell, one *Robert Talbot* of Belgard whom the *Geraldines* hated deadly, him they surmized to keepe a Kalender of all their doings and to stirre the coales that incensed brother against brother. In which fury, *Iames Fitz Gerald* meeting the said Gentleman besides Ballimore, slew him even there, journeying to keepe his Christmasse with the Deputy. With this despitefull murder both sides brake out into open rage, and especially the Countesse of Ossory, *Kildares* sister, a rare woman, and able for wisedome to rule a Realme, had not her stomacke over-rul'd her selfe. Heere beganne intimation of new Treasons passing to and fro, with complaints and replyes. But *Suffolke* had wrought the canvas so fast in his sonne in lawes behalfe, that hee was suffered to rest at home, and onely Commissioners directed thither with Authority to examine the roote of their

[q] 1593. [r] 1514.

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griefes, wherein if they found *Kildare* but even tollerably purged, their instruetions was to depose the plaintiffe, and to sweare the other Lord Deputy. The Commissioners were, Sir *Raphe Egerton*, a Cheshire Knight, *Anthony Fitzherbert*, second Iustice of the Common-pleas, and *Iames Denton*, Deane of Lichfield, who huddeled up those aceusations as they thought good, and suddenly tooke the sword from the Earle of Ossory, sware the *Geraldine* Lord Deputy, before whom *Con Oneale* bare the sword that day. Concerning the murtherer whom they might have hanged, they brought him prisoner into England, presented him to Cardinall *VVolsey*, who vvas said to hate *Kildares* bloud; And the Cardinall intending his execution vvith more dishonour to the name, caused him to be ledde about London streetes manacled and haltered, vvhich asked so long time, that the Deane of Lichfield stepped to the King, and got the Gentleman his pardon.

This untimely shift inflamed the Cardinall, and ripened the malice hitherto not so ranke, and therefore hereafter *Ossory* brought evident proofes of the Deputies disorder, that hee vvillfully vvinked at the Earle of Desmond, vvhom hee should have attached by the Kings letters, that he curryed acquaintance and friendship vvith meere Irish enemyes, that he had armed them against him being the Kings Deputy, that he hanged and hevved rashly good subiects, vvhom hee mistrusted to leane to the *Butlers* friendship. Yet againe therefore was *Kildare* commanded to appeare,

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which he did, leaving in his roome *Fitz Gerald* of *Leixlip*, [s] whom they shortly deprived, and chose the Baron of Delvin, whom *O-Connor* tooke prisoner, and there the Earle of Ossory to shew his ability of service, brought to Divelin an army of Irish-men, having Captaines over them *Oconnor*, *Omore* and *O-Carroll*, and at S. *Mary* Abbey, was chosen Deputie by the Kings Councell.

In which office (being himselfe, save onely in feates of Armes, a simple gentleman) he bare out his honour, and the charge of governement, very worthily, through the singular wisedome of his Countesse, a Lady of such port, that all Estates of the Realme couched unto her, so politique, that nothing was thought substantially debated without her advice, manlike and tall of stature, very rich and bountifull, a bitter enemy, the onely meane at those dayes whereby her Husbands Countrey was reclaymed from the sluttish and uncleane Irish custome to the English habite, bedding, house-keeping, and civility.

But to those vertues vvas yoked such a selfe-liking, and such a Majesty above the tenure of a subiect, that for insurance thereof shee sticked not to abuse her husbands honour against her brothers follye. Notwithstanding I learne not that shee practised his undoing, (vvhich ensued, and vvas to her undoubtedly, great heavinesse, as upon vvhom both the blemish

[s] 1527.

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thereof, and the sustenance of that vvhole family depended after,) but that shee by indirect meanes vvrought her Brother out of credite to advance her husband, the common voyce, and the thing it selfe speaketh.

All this vvhile abode the Earle of Kildare at the Court, and vvith much adoe found shift to be called before the Lords, to ansvvere solemnly. They sate upon him diversely affectioned, and especially the Cardinall, Lord Chauncellour, disliked his cause, comforted his accusers, and enforced the Articles obiected, and vvhat else soever could be gathered thereof in these words.

I wot well, my Lord, that I am not the meetest man at this Board to charge you with these treasons, because it hath pleased some of your pew-fellowes to report, that I am a professed enemie to all Nobilitie, and namely to the *Geraldines*, but seeing every curst boy can say asmuch when he is controled, and seeing these points are so vveightie, that they should not be dissembled of us, and so apparent, that they cannot be denyed of you. I must have leave, notwithstanding your stale slaunder, to be the mouth of these honourable persons at this time, and to trumpe your Treasons in your way, howsoever you take me.

First, you remember how the lewde Earle your kinsman, who passeth not whom he serve, might be

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change his Master, sent his confederates with letters of credence to *Francis* the French King, and having but cold comfort there, to *Charles* the Emperour, profering the helpe of Mounster and Connaght towards the conquest of Ireland, if either of them vvould helpe to vvine it from our King. Hovv many letters? vvhat precepts? what messages? what threats have been sent you to apprehend him? and yet not done: vvhy so? forsooth I could not catch him: Nay nay, Earle, forsooth you vvould not nighly vvatch him. If he be justly suspected, vvhy are you partiall in so great a charge? If not, vvhy are you fearefull to have him tryed? Yea Sir, it vvil be svvorne & deposed to your face, that for feare of meeting him, you have vvinked, vvilfully shunned his sight, altered your course, vvarned his friends, stopped both eyes and eares against his detectors, and vvhen soever you tooke upon you to hunt him out, then vvas he sure before-hand to bee out of your vvalke: surely this juggling and false-play, little became either an honest man, called to such honour, or a Nobleman put in such trust. Had you lost but a Couv, or a Garron of your ovvne, tvvo hundred Kyrneghes vvould have come at your vvhistle, to rescue the prey from the uttermost edge of Vlster: All the Irish in Ireland must have given you the vvay. But in pursuing so vveightie a matter as this, mercifull God, hovv nice, how dangerous, how wayward have you bin? One while he is from home, another while he keepeth home, sometimes fled, sometimes in the borders where you dare

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not venture: I wish, my Lord, there be shrewde bugges in the borders for the Earle of Kildare to feare: The Earle, nay, the King of Kildare, for when you are disposed, you reigne more like then rule the Land: where you are malicious, the truest subjects stand for Irish enemies; where you are pleased, the Irish enemie stands for a dutifull subject: hearts and hands, lives and lands are all at your courtesie, who fawneth not thereon, hee cannot rest within your smell, and your smell is so ranke, that you tracke them out at pleasure.

Whilest the Cardinall was speaking, the Earle chafed and changed colour, & sundry proffers made to answer every sentence as it came, at last he broke out, and interrupted them thus.

My Lord Chancellour, I beseech you pardon me I am short witted, and you I perceive intend a long tale. If you proceede in this order, halfe my purgation wil be lost for lacke of carryage: I have no schoole trickes, nor art of memory, except you hearke me while I remember your words, your second processe vvill hammer out the former.

The Lords associate, vvho for the most part tenderly loved him, and knevv the Cardinals manner of termes so lothsome, as vvherevvith they vvere tyred many yeares agoe, humbly besought his grace to charge him directly vvith particulars, and to dvvell,

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in some one matter, till it vvere examined through. That granted.'

It is good reason (quoth the Earle) that your Grace beare the mouth of this chamber. But my Lord, those mouthes that put this tale into your mouth, are very vvide mouths, such indeed as have gaped long for my vvreck, & novv at length for vvant of better stuff, are fain to fill their mouths vvith smoak. What my cousin *Desmond* hath compassed, as I knovv not, so I beshrevv his naked heart for holding out so long. If hee can bee taken by my agents that presently wayte for him, then have my adversaryes betrayed their malice, and this heape of haynous wordes shall resemble a man of strawe, that seemeth at a blush to carry some proportion, but when it is felt and poysed, discovereth a vanity, serving onely to fray crowes, and I trust your Honours will see the proofe hereof and mine innocencie testified in this behalfe by the thing it selfe within these few dayes. But goe to, suppose hee never bee had, what is *Kildare* to blame for it, more then my good brother of Ossory, notwithstanding his high promises, having also the Kings power, is glad to take egges for his money, and bring him in at leysure. Cannot the Earle of Desmond shift, but I must be of counsell? cannot hee bee hid, except I winke? If hee bee close, am I his mate? If he be friended, am I a Traytour? This is a doughty kinde of accusation, which they urge against mee, vvherein they are stabled and myred at my first

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denyall; You vvould not see him, say they, vvho made them so familiar vvith mine eye-sight? or vvhen vvas the Earle vvithin my *Equinas?* or vvho stood by vvhen I let him slip, or vvhere are the tokens of my vvillfull hood-vvinking? Oh, but you sent him vvord to bevvarre of you; Who vvas the messenger? vvhere are the letters? convince my negative: See hovv loosely this idle reason hangeth, *Desmond* is not taken, vvell, vve are in fault: vvhy? because you are: vvho proves it? no body. What conjectures? so it seemeth. To vvhom? to your enemies vvho tolde it them? What other ground? none. Will they svveare it? they vvill svveare it. My Lords, then belike they knovv it, if they knovv it, either they have my hand to shevv, or can bring forth the messenger, or vvere present at a conference, or privy to *Desmond*, or some body bevvrayed it to them, or themselves vvere my carryers or vice-gerents therein, vvhich of these parts vvill they choose, I knovv them too vvell to reckon my selfe convict by their bare vvords or headlesse heare-sayes, or franticke oathes, my letter vvere soone read, vvere any such vvriting extant, my servaunts and friends are ready to bee sifted. Of my cousin *Desmond* they may lye lewdly, since no man can beere vvell tell the contrary. Touching my selfe, I never noted in them either so much wit, or so much faith, that I could have gaged upon their silence the life of a good hound, much lesse mine owne, I doubt not may it please your Honours to oppose them, how they came to knowledge of these matters which they are so ready

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to depose, but you shall finde their tongues chayned to another mans trencher, and as it were, Knights of the Post, suborned to say, sweare and stare the uttermost they can, as those that passe not what they say; nor with what face they say it, so they say no truth. But of another thing it grieveth me, that your good grace, whom I take to bee wise and sharpe, and who of your owne blessed disposition wish me well, should bee so farre gone in crediting those corrupt informers, that abuse the ignorance of their state and countrey to my perill. Little knovv you my Lord, hovv necessary it is not onely for the governour, but also for every Nobleman in Ireland, to hamper his vincible neighbors at discretion, vvherein if they vvayted for processe of Law, and had not these lives and lands you speake of vvithin their reach, they might hap to loose their ovvne lives and lands vvithout Lavv. You heare of a case as it vvere in a dreame, and feele not the smart that vexeth us. In England there is not a meane subject that dare extend his hand to fillip a Peere of the Realme. In Ireland, except the Lord have cunning to his strength, and strength to save his ovvne, and sufficient authoritie to racke theeves and varletts vvhen they stirre, hee shall finde them svvarme so fast, that it vvill bee too late to call for Iustice. If you vvill have our service take effect, you must not tye us alvvayes to the Iudicial proceedings, vvherevvith your Realme, thanked bee God, is inured.

As touching my Kingdome (my Lord) I vvould

you and I had exchanged Kingdomes but for one moneth, I vvould trust to gather up more crummes in that space, then tvvice the revenues of my poore Earledome; but you are vvell and vvarme, and so hold you, and upbraide not me vvith such an odious storme. I sleepe on a cabbin, when you lye soft in your bed of downe, I serve under the cope of heaven, when you are served under a Canopy, I drinke water out of a skull, when you drinke out of golden Cuppes; my courser is trained to the field, when your Iennet is taught to amble, vvhen you are begraced and belorded, and crowched and kneeled unto, then I finde small grace with our Irish borderers, except I cut them off by the knees.

At these girds the Councell would have smiled if they durst, but each man bitt his lippe, and held his countenance, for howsoever some of them inclined to the *Butler*, they all hated the Cardinall: A man undoubtedly borne to honour, I thinke some Princes Bastard, no Butchers sonne, exceeding wise, faire spoken, high minded, full of revenge, vicious of his body, lofty to his enemies, were they never so bigge, to those that accepted and sought his friendship wonderfull courteous, a ripe Schooleman, thrall to affections, brought a bed with flattery, insatiable to get, & more princelike in bestowing: as appeareth by his two Colledges at Ipswich, and at Oxenford, th' one suppressed with his fall, th' other unfinished and yet as it lieth an house of Students (considering all

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appurtenances) incomparable, through Christendome, whereof *Henry* the eight is now called Founder, because hee let it stand. He held and enjoyed at once the Bishopricks of Yorke, Durham, and Winchester, the dignities of Lord Cardinall, Legate, and Chancellour: the Abbey of S. *Albans*, diverse Prioryes, sundry fat Benefices in *Commendam:* A great preferrer of his servants, advauncer of learning, stoute in every quarrell, never happy till his overthrow. Therein he shewed such moderation, and ended so patiently, that the houre of his death did him more honour then all the pompe of life passed.

The Cardinall perceived that Kildare was no Babe, and rose in a fume from the Councell table, committed the Earle, deferred the matter till more direct probations came out of Ireland.

After many meetinges and objections wittily refelled, they pressed him sore with a trayterous errant, sent by his daughter the Lady of Slane, to all his brethren, to *Oneale, Oconnor*, and their adherents, wherein he exhorted them to warre upon the Earle of Ossory then Deputy, which they accomplished, making a wretched conspiracy against the English of Ireland, and many a bloody skirmish.

Of this Treason he was found guilty, and reprived in the Towre a long time, the Gentleman betooke himselfe to God and the King, was heartily loved of

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the Lieutenant, pittied in all the Court, and standing in so hard a case altered little his accustomed hue, comforted other noblemen, prisoners with him, dissembling his owne sorrow. One night when the Lieutenant and he, for disport were playing at slidgroat, suddainely commeth from the Cardinall a mandat to execute *Kildare* on the morrow. The Earle marking the Lieutenants deepe sigh, in reading the bill; By Saint *Bride*, quoth he, there is some mad game in that scrolle, but fall how it will, this throw is for a huddle; when the worst was told him, now I pray thee, quoth he, doe no more but learne assuredly from the Kings owne mouth, whether his Grace be witting thereto or not. Sore doubted the Lieutenant to displease the Cardinall, yet of very pure devotion to his friend, he posteth to the King at midnight, and said his errant, (for all houres of the day or night, the Lieutenant hath accesse to the Prince upon occasions.) King *Henry* controwling the sawcynesse of the Priest, those were his tearmes, gave him his Signet in token of countermand, which when the Cardinall had seene, he begun to breake into unseasonable words with the Lieutenant, which he was loath to heare, and so he left him fretting; Thus broke up the storme for a time, and the next yeare[t] *VVolsey* was cast out of favour, & within few yeares Sir *VVilliam Skevington*[u] sent over Deputy, who brought vvith him the Earle pardoned, and rid from all his troubles. Who vvould not thinke but these lessons should have schooled so vvise a man,

[t] 1528. [u] 1530.

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and vvarned him rather by experience of adversities past, to cure old sores, then for joy of this present fortune, to minde seditious drifts to come. The second yeare of *Skevingtons* governement, there chaunced an uproare among the Merchants and their Apprentices, in Divelin, which hard and scant the Deputy and Major both, could appease.[v] Then was also great stirre about the Kings divorce, who hearing the frowardnes of Ireland under *Skevington*, and thinking it expedient in so fickle a world to have a sure poste there, made *Kildare* his Deputy,[w] the Primate of Ardmagh Lord Chancellor, and Sir *Iames Butler* Lord Treasurer. But *Kildare* reviving the old quarrels, fell to prosecute the Earle of Ossory, excited *Oneale* to invade his country, his brother *Iohn Fitz Gerald* to spoyle the country of Vriell and Kilkenny, being himselfe at the doing of part, namely in robbing the towne, and killing the Kings subjects. The next yeare[x] going against *O-Carrol* he was pittifull hurt with a Gun in the thigh, so that he never after enjoyed his limmes, nor delivered his wordes in good plight, otherwise like enough to have beene longer forborne, in consideration of his many noble qualities, great good service, and the state of those times. Straight wayes complaints were addressed to the King of these enormities, & that in the most haynous manner could be devised, whereupon he was againe commaunded by sharpe letters to repaire into England,[y] & to leave such a substitute,

[v] 1532. [w] 1533.
[x] 1534. [y] 1535.

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for whose goverment he would undertake at his perill to answere: He left his heire the Lord *Thomas Fitz Gerald*, and ere he went, furnished his owne pyles, forts, and castles, with the Kings artillery and munition, taken forth of Divelin. Being examined before the Councell, he staggered in his answer, either for conscience of the fact, or for the infirmity of his late mayme: Wherefore a false muttering flew abroad that his execution was intended. That rumour helped forward *Skevingtons* friends and servants, who sticked not to write into Ireland secret letters, that the Earle their Masters enemy (so they tooke him, because he got the governement over his head,) was cut shorter, and now they trusted to see their Master againe in his Lordship, whereafter they sore longed as crowes doe for carryon. Such a letter came to the hands of a simple Priest, no perfect English man, who for haste hurled it among other papers in the Chimneyes end of his chamber, meaning to peruse it better at more leisure. The same very night a Gentleman retaining to Lord *Thomas* (then Lord Deputy under his father) tooke up his lodging, with the Priest, and raught in the morning for some paper to drawe on his straite hosen, and as the devill would he hit upon the letter, bare it away in the heele of his hose, no earthly thing misdeeming, at night againe he found the paper unfretted, and musing thereof began to pore on the writing, which notified the Earles death. To horsbacke got he in all haste, and spreading about the country these un-

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thrifty tydings, Lord *Thomas* the Deputy rash and youthfull, immediately confedered himselfe with *Oneale*, and *O-Connor*, with his Vnkles and Fathers friends, namely, *Iohn*, *Oliver*, *Edward Fitz Gerald*, *Iames* and *Iohn Delahide*, *VVelch* parson of Loughseudy, *Burnel* of Balgriffen, *Rorcks* a pirat of the seas, *Bath* of Dullardston, *Field* of Buske, with others, and their adherents guarded, he rideth on S. *Barnabyes* day to S. Mary Abbey where the Councell sate, and when they looked he should take his place, and rose to give it him, hee charged them to sit still, and stood before them and then spake.

Howsoever injuriously we be handled and forced to defend our selves in armes, when neither our service nor our good meaning towards our Princes crowne availeth, yet say not hereafter but in this open hostility, which wee professe heere and proclaime, we have shewed our selves no villaines nor churles, but warriours and Gentlemen. This Sword of estate is yours and not mine, I received it with an oath, and have used it to your benefit, I should offend mine honour, if I turned the same to your annoyance, now have I neede of mine owne sword, which I dare trust, as for this common sword, it flattereth me with a golden scabberd, but hath in it a pestilent edge, already bathed in the *Geraldines* blood, and whetted it selfe in hope of a destruction: save your selves from us, as from your open enemies. I am none of *Henryes* Deputy, I am his foe, I have more minde to conquere,

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then to governe, to meete him in the field, then to serve him in office, If all the hearts of England and Ireland that have cause thereto, vvould joyne in this quarrell (as I trust they will) then should he be a by-word (as I trust he shall) for his heresie, lechery, and tyranny, wherein the age to come may skore him among the auncient Princes, of most abhominable and hatefull memorie. With that he rendred up the sword, and flang away like a Bedlam, adding to his shamefull Oration many other slanderous and foule termes, which for regard of the Kings posteritie, I have no minde to utter.

They concluded, first to murther all of the English birth in Ireland, and sent an ambassador to *Paulus* the 3, called *Mac Granell*, archdeacon of Kelles, and rejected thence to *Charles* the fift, whose Aunt Queene *Katherine* the King had lately cast off, with much indignation of all the Spaniards, him hee thought eith to be kindled, and craved assistance to conquer the land, which he promised to hold under him, & his heires for ever. The meane while he forced an oath upon Gentlemen of every shire to ayde him, camped within the pale, reared a great army of English, Irish, and Scots, invaded the Earle of Ossory, and *Iames* his sonne Lord *Butler*, who having intelligence thereof, prevented his fury and kept those parts in order.

When the *Butlers* had stopped his rage in Moun-

ster, he fell to parlyes and treatyes with them, sent them diverse messengers and letters, whereby he covenanted to devide with them halfe the Kingdome, would they assist his enterprise, *Iames* Lord Treasurer, in whom for their youth and acquaintance he most affied, and often accumbred with such temptations, finally returned his brokers with letters.

Taking pen in hand to write you my resolute answere, I muse in the very first line, by what name to call you, my Lord, or my Cousin, seeing your notorious treason hath distayned your honour, and your desperate lewdnes shamed your kindred, you are so liberall in parting-stakes with mee, that a man would weene you had no right to the game, so importunate in craving my company, as if you would perswade me to hang with you for good fellowship. And thinke you that *Iames* is so mad to gape for gudgens, or so ungratious to sell his truth for a peece of Ireland, were it so, (as it cannot be) that the Chickens you reckon were both hatched and feathered, yet be thou sure I had rather in this quarrell die thine enemy, then live thy partner: for the kindnes you proffer mee, and good love in the end of your letter, the best way I can I purpose to requite, that is, in advising you though you have fetched your feaze, yet to looke well ere you leape over. Ignorance and error, and a certaine opinion of duty hath carried you unawares to this folly, not yet so ranke, but it may be cured. The King is a vessell of bounty and

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mercy, your words against his Majesty shall not bee counted malicious, but rather balked out for heat and impotency, except your selfe by heaping offences, discover a mischievous and willfull meaning Farewell.

Nettled with this round answere, forth he passed to increase his power, offered violence to very few, except that one despitous murther at Tartaine, the twenty five of Iuly, where in a morning earely he caused to be brought before him, the honourable Prelate Doctour *Allen*, Archbishop of Divelin, and Lord Chancellor, who being a reverent personage, feeble for age and sicknesse, kneeling at his feete in his shirte and mantle, bequeathing his soule to God, his body to the Traytors merey, the wretched young man commaunded there to be brained like an oxe. The place is ever since hedged in, overgrowne and unfrequented, in detestation of the fact. The people have observed that all the accessaries thereof, being after pardoned for rebellion, ended miserably. *Allen* had beene in service with Cardinall *VVolsey*, of deepe judgement; in the Cannon law, the onely match of *Stephen Gardener* another of *VVolseyes* Chaplaines, for avoyding of which emulation he was preferred in Ireland, rough and rigorous in iustice, hated of the *Geraldines* for his Masters sake, & his owne, as that he crossed them diverse times, and much troubled both the father and sonne in their governements, nor unlike to have promoted their accusations.

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All this while the Kings army was looked for, and no succour came to the rebels, which greatly quayled them, being of themselves, though stored with souldiours, yet unfurnished with any sufficient munition to stand in a maine battell. Moreover the number of wise Gentlemen did not greatly incline to his purpose. And therefore when he besieged the City of Divelin, the most part of those arrowes which were shot over the walles, were unheaded, and little or nothing affrayed them. That espied the citizens, and gathering the faintnes of his souldiours thereby, blazed abroad upon the walles triumphant newes, that the King's Army was arryved, and as it had beene so indeed, suddenly rushed out of their gates upon the Rebels, who at the first sight of armed men, weening no lesse but the truth was so, otherwise assured that the Citty would never dare to encounter them, gave ground, forsooke their Captaines, dispersed and scattered into diverse corners, and never after met together.

A little before this time dyed the Earle of Kildare in the towre of London for thought and paine.[a] Sir *William Skevington* (whom the Irish men call the gunner. because hee was preferred from that office of the Kings Master-gunner to governe them, and that they can full evill brooke to be ruled of any that is but meanely borne) brought over an Army, and with him *Leonard Gray*, a younger sonne to the Marquesse

[a] John Stow.

Dorset, Lord Marshall. To whom *Fitz Gerald* yeelded, and vvas sent into England, vvhere hee vvith his Vncles, and other principalls of the conspiracy, vvere afterwards dravvne, hanged and quartered at Tiburne. Soone after vvas the house of the *Geraldines* attaynted by Parliament, and all of the name busily trayned out for feare of nevv commotions. But *Thomas Leuus*, late Bishop of Kildare, schoole-master to a younger brother, *Gerald Fitz Gerald*, the Earle that novv liveth, secretly stale avvay vvith the childe, first into Scotland, then into France, and misdoubting the French, into Italy, vvhere Cardinall *Pole* his neere kinsman preserved him, till the raigne of *Edward* the sixt, vvith vvhom hee entred into high favour, and obtayned of him his olde inheritance of Meinothe.

Lastly, by meanes of the said Cardinall, and Sir *Anthony Browne*, Lord Mountague, whose sister hee marryed (a woman worthy of such a brother) Queene *Mary* (Founder and restorer of many noble houses) repealed his attainder, and set him in his fathers Earledome, wherein since that time he hath shewed himselfe sundry wayes officious and serviceable towards his Common-wealth, and the Crowne of England, beside other good qualities of honour and curtesie, they repute him heere for the best horseman in these parts of Christendome. With this escape of yong *Fitz Gerald*, the Lord *Leonard Gray* his Vncle on the mothers side was held suspect, & the same was

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one speciall article urged against him when hee lost his head, Anno. 1542.[a]

Sir *VVilliam Skevington*, a worthy Governour, and among all vertues very just of his vvord, deceased Lord Deputy at Kilmaynam, and the Lord *Leonard Gray* succeeded him.[b] *Oneale* and *Odonill* colourably required a parley vvith the Deput, but in the vvay as they rode, they burned the Navan, and the tovvne of Ardee. Wherefore the Deputy vvith the helpe of the Maior of Divelin *Iames Fitz Symonds*, and the Maior of Droghedagh, and the English pale met them, flighted them, slevv 400. of their trayne, and there the Maior of Divelin for notable service in that journey, vvas knighted.

Sir *Anthony Seintleger* Knight of the Garter, Lord Deputy. He summoned a Parliament, vvherein the *Geraldines* vvere attainted, Abbeyes suppressed, the King named supreme head and King of Ireland, because he recognized no longer to hold it of the Pope.[c] At this Parliament appeared Irish Lords *Mac Gilpatricke*, Lord *Barry*, *Mac Cartimore*, *O-brene*, and diverse more, vvhom followved *Con Oneale*, submitting himselfe to the Kings Deputy, and after to the King himselfe, vvho returned him richly plated, created him Earle of Tyrone, his base sonne *Matthew Oneale* Baron of Donganon. As for *Shane Oneale*

[a] Hall. An. H. 3. 32 & 34.

[b] 1547. [c] 1548.

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the onely sonne of his body *mulier* begotten, hee vvas then little esteemed and of no proofe. The same time *Iames* Earle of Desmond came to the King, and vvas of him both Princely entertained and revvarded.

CAP. X.

Edward the 6. Mary, and Elizabeth.

BEFORE the decease of *Henry* the 8. *Seintleger* was twice in England, leaving at both times Sir *VVilliam Brabason* Lord Iustice. In his second returne An. 1546. Sir *Edward Bellingham*, Captaine generall, landed at Waterford, and skowred the coast, where *Omore* and *Ocomore* used to prey.

This yeare[d] the city of Divelin obtained a Charter for two Sheriffes in stead of Bayliffes.

The *Geraldines* Out-lawes were taken and executed, *Bellingham* appointed Lord Deputye, erected a Mint within the Castle of Divelin, which quickely wearyed them for want of fuell. *Andrew Brereton* with 300. horsemen, and 40. footemen, inhabited the North as farre as Lecale, where hee with 35. horsemen gave the charge upon 240. Scotts, that from the out Islandes came to succour the Irish, and wasted the Countrey.

[d] 1548.

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In one yeare hee cleered those quarters, that the Kings subiects might passe in peace.

Sir *Frauncis Bryan* the Kings Mynion was left Lord Iustice, vvhile *Bellingham* repayred into England, vvhere he dyed a man made up by service in the vvarres, by continuall toyle therein diseased and feebled, but of courage a lyon to his dying day, true as steele, as farre from flattery as from hearing flatterers, an exceeding fervent Protestant, very zealous and carefull in tendring the vvealth of Ireland, vvherein the countrey giveth him the praise over all his predecessours and successours vvithin memory, he spent his vvhole allovvance in hospitality, calling the same, his deare Masters meate, none of his ovvne cost. Letters commendatory offered him by the Councell, vvhen *Brian* had vvrought his trouble before the Nobility of England hee rejected as vaine and superfluous, professing, that if of his owne innocencie he could not uphold him, hee would never seeke other shift, then *Credo resurrectionem mortuorum*, for (quoth he) well they may kill mee, but they shall never conquer mee. Sowre he was, and thundering in words, indeed very temperate, applyed himselfe altogether to severity, Lordlinesse, and terrour, *Brian* dyed within sixe weekes, and *Brabason* became Lord Iustice, till *Saintleger* the fourth time was sent over Deputye. To him crept *Mac Cartye*, that had lately roved and denyed his obedience, with an halter about his necke, and got his pardon.

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Vpon *Saintleger* came Sir *Iames Croftes*, of whose bounty and honourable dealing towards them, they yeeld at this day a generall good report. *Crofts* tarryed in office two yeares, and left Sir *Thomas Cusack* (who dyed five houres before the writing heereof,) and *Gerald Ailmer*, while they both were coursing *Oneale* from Dundalke.

Queene *Mary* established in her Crowne, committed her government once more to *Saintleger*, whom sundry Noblemen pelted and lifted at, till they shouldered him quite out of all credite.* He to be counted forward and plyable to the taste of King *Edward* the sixt his raigne, rymed against the Reall Presence for his pastime, and let the papers fall where Courtiers might light thereon, vvho greatly magnified the pith and conveyance of that noble sonnet. But the originall of his own hand-vvriting, had the same firmely (though contrary to his ovvne Iudgement) vvandering in so many hands, that his adversary caught it, and tripped it in his vvay: the spot vvhereof he could never vvipe out. Thus vvas he removed, a discreete Gentleman, very studious of the State of Ireland, enriched, stout enough, vvithout gall.

While the Deputy staggered uncertaine of continuance, the *Tooles*, and the *Cavenaghes* vvaxed cockish in the Countie of Divelin, rangeing in flockes of seven or eight score, on vvhom set forth the Marshall and

*1553.

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the Sheriffes of Divelin, *Buckley* and *Gygen*, vvith the citties helpe, and over-layde them in sudden skirmishes, of which, threescore were executed for example.

Thomas Earle of Sussex, Lord Deputy, with whom came his Brother in law Sir *Henry Sidney*, Treasurer.[f] This Deputy, to the inestimable benefite of the Realme, brought under obedience the disordered countreyes of Leix, Slewmarge, Ofalie, Irrye, and Glinmalire, then late possessed by the *Oconnores*, *Omores*, *Odempsyes*, and other Irish rebells. Hee molested *Iames Mac Conell* the Scottish Islander, that in those dayes joyned with the Irish, and disquieted Vlster. In which voyage Divelin assisted the Governour with a faire company, conducted by *Iohn Vsher*, Sheriffe, and *Patrick Buckley*. He held a Parliament, wherein it was made high Treason to retaine Scots for souldiours, and fellony to contract with them matrimony. At his returne from Englands (in which time Sir *Henry Sidney* vvas Lord Iustice) hee pursued the Scots to their Ilands, and there entred, did them much skathe, vvanne himselfe full great commendation of hardinesse, sayled backe vvith the glory of that adventure, vvherein (I trovv) tvvo more of his matches are not remembred, nor read. With the nevves of *Maryes* death, hee crossed the seas againe into England, leaving Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Iustice, and yet againe the next yeare leaving Sir *VVilliam Fitzwilliams* Lord Iustice, then returned he Lord Lieute-

[f] 1554. 1557.

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nant of Ireland, by Proclamation reformed and abated their base Coyne, being as yet perfect in all the proportions, measures, allayes and values thereof, as by mintanor, tooke vvith him souldiours out of Divelin, victualled for sixe vveekes at that cities charge, under the leading of *Petaboghe* Sheriffe, and joyning him to his povver, vvent upon *Shane Oneale*, the Irish enemy of greatest force then living.[h] Thereupon *Shane* hyed him into England, the Lieutenant after him, *Fitz VVilliams* Lord Iustice, till *Sussex* sped his businesse, and came backe the next and last time of his departure. Sir *Nicholas Arnold* directed thither vvith Commission, tarryed behinde him Lord Iustice, and too short a vvhile as the country speaketh, vvho testifieth his upright and reasonable provision of household eates, the abuses whereof with sesse and souldiours, doe so impoverish and alienate the needie Farmors from us, that they say they might as easily beare the Irish oppressions of Coines & Cuddies, from which we pretend to deliver them.

Arnold for his better successe in government, linked himselfe entirely with *Gerald* Earle of Kildare, who likewise endeavoured to support the same with all diligence, being authorized to straine the rebells at his discretion, wherefore hee disposed himselfe to serve, and presented the Governour many times with a number of principall Out-lawes heades.

[h] 1560.

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In the meane while *Sussex* became Lord President of the North of England, a spare man of body, but sound & healthfull, brought up with *Stephen Gardiner*, passing valiant, a deep reacher, very zealous in friendship, quicke in resolution of extremities in the field, wonderfull patient, able to tyre ten souldiours, learned and languaged, ever doing with his penne, of utterance sharpe and sententious, wary, busie, painefull, and speedie, meeter to rule, then to be over-ruled.

Sir *Henry Sidney*, Knight of the Garter, Lord President of Wales, and Lord Deputie of Ireland. Hee found the Realme distempered with *Oneales* rebellion, and the same did extinguish, whereof before I speake, I must looke backe a little into certaine yeares past, and lay together the circumstance of this lamentable tumult.

Of all the Irish Princes, though none was then comparable to *Oneale* for antiquity and noblenesse of bloud, yet had the same endured sundry varieties and vexations, untill the division began in England of the two royall families, Yorke and Lancaster, at which time the English Lords of Ireland, either for zeale, or for kinred and affection transporting their force thither to uphold a side, the meere Irish waxed insolent, and chiefly *Oneale* incroched upon the full possession of Vlster, abiding so uncontrolled, till *Shane Oneale* fearing the puissance of *Henry* 8. exhibited to him a voluntary submission, surrendred all titles of honour,

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received at his hands the Earledome of Ter-owen, commonly called Tirone, to be held of the King of English forme and tenure: Armes he gave the bloody hand a terrible cognizance. This *Oneale* had two sonnes, *Matthew* a bastard, and *Shane* legitimate, but because *Matthew* was a lusty horseman, welbeloved, and a tryed Souldiour, *Shane* but a Boy, and not of much hope, the father obtained the Barony of Donganon, and the remainder of his Earledome to *Matthew*. When *Shane* and his foster brethren grew to yeares, they considered of the injury and tyranny, done by policie of the base *Oneale*, & with rearing hue and cry at the side of a Castle where he lay that night; when the Gentleman ran suddainely forth to answere the cry, as the custome is, they betrayed and murdered him. The father not utterly discontent with his dispatch, when he saw the proofe of his lawfull sonne and heire, thenceforward fancied *Shane Oneale*, put him in trust with all, himselfe being but a Cripple, notwithstanding that *Matthew* left issue male which liveth, to whom the inheritance appertained, yet after his fathers decease, *Shane* was reputed for the rightfull *Oneale*, tooke it, kept it, challenged superiority over the Irish Lords of Vlster, warred also upon the English part; subdued *Oreyly*, imprisoned *Odonil*, his wife, and his sonne, enriched himselfe with all *Odonils* forts, castles, and plate, by way of ransome, detained pledges of obedience, the wife (whom he carnally abused) and the Childe, fortified a strong Iland in Tyrone, which he named spitefully, *Foogh-ni-Gall*, that is, the hate

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of English men, whom he so detested, that he hanged a Souldiour for eating English bisket, another by the feete mistrusted for a spy, another Captaine of the Galloglaghes he slew with torture. After this usurpation and tyranny, hee was yet perswaded by *Melchior Husse* sent unto him from *Gerald* Earle of Kildare, to reconcile himselfe to good order, and to remember the honourable estate wherein King *Henry* placed his father, which monition he accepted, besought his protection, and made a voyage into England, where the Courtiers noting his haughtines and barbarity, devised his stile thus. *Oneale* the great, Cousin to S. *Patricke*, friend to the Queene of England, enemy to all the world besides. Thence he sped home againe, gratiously dealt with, used Civility, expelled the Scots out of all Vlster, where they intended a conquest, wounded and tooke prisoner, Captaine *Iames Mac Conill* their Chieftaine, whereof the said *Iames* deceased: ordered the North so properly, that if any subject could approve the losse of money or goods within his precinct, he would assuredly either force the robber to restitution, or of his owne cost redeeme the harme to the loosers contentation. Sitting at meate, before he put one morsell into his mouth, he used to slice a portion above the dayly almes, and send it namely to some begger at his gate, saying, it was meete to serve Christ first: But the Lords of Vlster, and elsewhere, whom he yoked and spoiled at pleasure, abhorring his pride and extortion, craved assistance of the Deputy, for redresse thereof: *Oneale* advertised, increaseth his rage,

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disturbeth and driveth out *Mac Gwire*, the plaintiffe, burneth the Metropolitane Church of Ardmagh, because no English army might lodge therein, for which sacriledge the Primate accursed him, besiegeth Dundalke, practiseth to call strangers into the land for ayde, as appeareth by those letters which Sir *Henry Sidney* Lord Deputy intercepted, occupieth all the North of Ireland, being 100. myles broad, 120. long. Then addressed he plausible letters to the Potentates of Mounster, exhorting them to rebell, that the force of England at once might bee dismembred. This message the Deputy prevented, stayed the country, abridged him of that hope, and then proclaimed him Traytor. An Irish Iester standing by, and hearing *Oneale* denounced with addition of a new name, traytor: Except (quoth he) traytor be a more honourable title then *Oneale*, he shall never take it upon him, by my consent

While the Deputy was absent in England, the towne of Droghedagh was in hazard to be taken by the Rebels, which to preserve, at the motion of the Lady *Sidney*, then abiding in Droghedagh, came Master *Sarsfield* then Major of Divelin, with a chosen band of goodly young men Citizens, and brake the rage of the enemies.[1] The Deputy returning made him Knight, and finding it now high time utterly to weede and roote out the Traytor, he furnished a substantiall army, and with the readines thereof hartened the Irish, whom *Oneale* had impoverished, cut off his adherents, and all accesse

[1] 1566.

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of succour, chased him and his into corners, spent him, cast him into such despaire, that he consulted with his Secretary *Neale Mac Connor*, to present himselfe unknowne and disguised to the Deputy, with an halter about his necke, begging his pardon. Ere you doe so (quoth his Clarke) let us prove an extreame shift, and there he perswaded him to joyne with the Scots, whom he had lately banished: of whom, should he be refused or finde inconvenience, at any time, submission to the Deputy might then be used, when all faileth. *Shane* knew himselfe odious to the Scots, especially to them whom he thought to lincke with the brother and kindred of *Iames Mac Conill*, yet in those hard oddes hee devised rather to assay their friendship, then to grate upon mercy, which so oft and so intollerably he had abused.

Mac Conill whom *Shane* overthrew left two brethren, and a Sister, whereof one *Suarly Torwy* remained with *Oneale*, entertayned after his brothers death. The other was *Alexander Oge*, who with 600. Scots incamped now in Claneboy. The woman was *Agnes Ilye*, whose husband *Shane* slew in the said discomfiture, *Agnes* had a sonne *Mac Gillye Aspucke*, who betrayed *Oneale* to avenge his Fathers and Vncles quarrell. At the first meeting, (for thither he came accompanied with *Torwy* and his Secretary, and 50. horsemen) the Captaines made him great cheere, and fell to quaffing, but *Aspucke* minding to enter into his purpose, there openly challenged his Secretary, as the

Author of a dishonourable report, that *Mac Conils* wife did offer to forsake her country and friends, and to marry with *Shane Oneale* her husbands destruction; Mary (quoth the Secretary) if thine Aunt were Queen of Scotland, it might beseeme her full well, to seeke such a marriage. To this brawle *Oneale* gave eare, upheld his man, advaunced his owne degree: The comparison bred a fray betweene their Souldiours; Out sprang *Aspucke*, and beat *Oneales* man, and then suddainely brought his band upon them in the tent, where the Souldiours with their slaughter-knives, killed the Secretary and *Shane Oneale*, mangled him cruelly, lapped him in an old Irish shirte, and tumbled him into a pit, within an old Chappell hard by: whose head foure dayes after, Captaine *Pierce* cut off and met therewith the Deputy, who sent it before him staked on a pole, to the Castle of Divelin, where it now standeth. It is thought that *Tirlagh* who now usurpeth the name of *Oneale*, practised this devise with *Agnes*, *Alexander*, and *Torwy*, when he perceived *Shane* discouraged, and not able to hold out.

Thus the wretched man ended, who might have lived like a Prince, had he not quenched the sparkes of grace that appeared in him, with arrogancy and contempt against his Prince.

The next Tumult in Ireland proceeded of the folly, especially of Sir *Edmund Butler*, *Pierce* and *Edward* his Brethren, who being unable in law, to maintaine

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his title to certaine landes, whereof he held possession, whereunto Sir *Peter Carew* laide very direct and manifest claime, (for *Carew* is an ancient Barons house in Ireland) confedered with *Iames Fitz Morrice of* the south, and others, began commotion, more dangerous to the Realme then the late stirre of *Oneale*, such was their opportunity of place, the rebels so friended, their number so furnished, that the Deputy passing forth against them in haste, requisite with such shift as the suddaine mischiefe asked, was thought to have put his person in great adventure, but in conclusion he wanne by that journey, great martiall honour, started them from hole to hole, and ransackt every veine of the land, so as the *Butlers* craving protection, shortly recoyled, and stand now at the Queenes mercy. To appease the country, & reforme the lewdnes of his Brethren, *Thomas* Earle of Ormond came from the Court of England home, and in quieting the said broyles, shewed also for his part, a right good peece of service, worthy to be remembred. After this ensued a Parliament, the particulars whereof, are expressed in the acts lately drawne, to be published in Print, somewhat before the last session, a seditious libell intituled, *Tom Troth*, (let fall in the streetes of Divelin) nipped by name diverse honourable and worshipfull of the Realme, & certaine officers of the Deputyes houshold, for greeving the land with impositions of Cesse, whereupon followed a proclamation, bearing date the twenty-eight of Ianuary, which if it may bee executed in all points, would cut off many such murmures, and leave a blessed

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memory of the Governour that devised it. The day of prorogation[k] when the Knights and Burgesses of the Cominalty resorted to the Lordes of the upper house, much good matter was there uttered betweene the Deputy and the Speaker, whereof comming home to my lodging I tooke notes, and here I will deliver them, as neere as I can call them to minde, in the same words and sentences, that I heard them. First the Speaker *Iames Stanihurst* an Esquire of worship, Recorder of Divelin, and for the Citty Burgesse at that present, began thus.

Rather of custome and dutyfull humility, then for doubt of your honourable disposition. (so well knowne to us all, and to every of us in private, that it little needeth my praise) we are to request your Lordship in the behalfe of our selves, and our countryes, whom we represent in this Parliament, to accept our service and endeavour in driving these conclusions, where by to the uttermost of our skill we have intended without injury, the Crowne to enrich, treasons to chastise, to better the state, traffique to further, learning to cherish, and in briefe, to maintaine with our best advice those benefits, which the Prince hath inferred upon this Realme by you, and you with your sword and wisedome have performed. An ordinary suite it is, in the end of such assemblies to crave executions of law, for it sufficeth not, to keepe a statute *tanquam ictheum in tabulis*, as a thing shut up in parchment

[k] 12. Decembris 1570.

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rolles, but law must speake and walke abroad, to the comfort and behoofe of good subjects: Otherwise, vve shall resemble the folly of him, that once in every houre saluted his gold, never using it, but onely bad it lye still and couch. Of the necessity thereof, I cannot say so much as your Lordship conceiveth, and I desire not to discourse a matter generally felt and confessed. In particular the zeale which I have to the reformation of this Realme, and to breede in the rudest of our people, resolute English hearts, moveth me to pray your Lordships helping hand for the practice, namely of one statute which is for the erecting of Grammer Schooles, within every diocesse, the stipends to be levied in such proportion, as in the late act hath beene devised, whereunto the royall assent is already granted, and yet the point in no forwardnes, nor in none is like to be, except by some good meanes, the onset be given & freshly followed, surely might one generation sippe a little of this liquor, and so bee induced to long for more, both our countrymen that live obeysant, would ensue with a courage the fruites of peace, whereby good learning is supported, and our unquiet neighbours would finde such sweetnesse in the taste thereof, as it should bee a ready way to reclaim them. In mine experience, who have not yet seene much more then forty yeares, I am able to say that our Realme is at this day an halfe deale more civill then it was, since noble men and worshipfull, with others of ability, have used to send their sonnes into England to the Law, to Vniversities, or to Schooles. Now when

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the same Schooles shall bee brought home to their doores, that all that will may repaire unto them, I doubt not, considering the numbers brought up beyond the Seas, and the good already done in those few places, where learning is professed, but this addition discreetly made, will foster a young frye, likely to prove good members of this common wealth, and desirous to traine their children the same way. Neither were it a small helpe to the assurance of the Crowne of England, when Babes from their Craddles should be inured under learned Schoole-masters, with a pure English tongue, habite, fashion, discipline; and in time utterly forget the affinity of their unbroken borderers, who possibly might be wonne by this example, or at the least wise loose the opportunity, which novv they have, to infect others: And seeing our hap is not yet, to plant an Vniversity here at home, which attempt can never bee remembred without many thankes to your good Lordship for your bountifull offer, me seemeth it is the more expedient to enter so farre forth as our commission reacheth and to hope for the rest: I have said enough, especially to a learned governour, to whom an inckling were sufficient in such a plausible and needfull motion. It resteth that wee pray your Lordship to folde up whatsoever squarings or diversities of Iudgements, wise men have heere uttered in our often meetings, and by the sequele of all our doings to measure the good meaning of every severall person.

When the Speaker had done, the Deputy having a

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rich and plentifull kinde of utterance, meere naturall, but not without judgement, answered at length, as he that knew no end of his good, the points whereof, as I can remember, were these.

In good faith, M. Speaker, I cannot lesse doe, but recorde and testifie the readines, travaile and good service of you all, and namely of your selfe, who in the whole course of this Parliament, & now lastly in this charitable request for trayning your youth, have confirmed the opinion which my selfe and the generall voyce long since retained of your rare vertues, devotion, wisedome, learning, and modestie, so as the case cannot be misdoubted that is preferred by such a Proctor, the substance whereof toucheth you my Lords spirituall and temporall, & you the knights and worshipfull of every Shire, to you belongeth the quickening of this godly statute, which heere againe I recommend unto you, & will not let to enquire after your diligence therein from time to time, & the most effectuall order that may be for this purpose, shall assuredly be taken in place convenient. Shew your selves forvvard and franke in advancing the honour, wealth, ease and credit of your countryes, envy not to your posterity the same path that your selves have troden, and namely you that flourish at this day in the light & eye of your common-wealth. Had your opinions matched with mine, concerning the Vniversity which M. Speaker remembreth, no doubt the name and reputation thereof would have bin a spurre to these erections, as nurses

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for babes to suck in, till they might repaire thither to be wained: But I trust your consents therein are only suspended for a time, and that so much good labour shall not be utterly lost and frustrate: What though certaine imperfections cannot as yet be salved? What though the summe arise not to make a muster of Colledges at the first day? What though the place be not also commodious? What though other circumstances inferre a feeble and rawe foundation? These are indeede objections of the multitude, whose backewardnesse breedeth an unnecessary stoppe in this our purpose. But your wisedomes can easily consider that time must ripen a weake beginning, that other Universities began with lesse, that all experience telleth us so, shall wee be so curious or so testy that nothing will please us, but all in all, all absolute, all excellent, all furnished, all beautified, all fortified in the prime and infancie thereof. I remember a tale of *Apuleius* asse, who being indifferently placed betweene two bottles of haye, because he could not reach them both at once, forbare them both. Let us not so doe, but content our selves by little and little to bee fedde as the case requireth. The rest of your Bills debated and passed by your wisedomes in this Parliament, I must confesse, they are as you say, beneficiall to the Queene my Mistris, and to her Crowne, but how? Verily as the Husband-man soweth his seede, and reapeth much more then he layde downe, so whatsoever this benefite amounteth unto, it returneth to your selves in a circle, heere it groweth, heere it is eaten,

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heere it multiplyeth, heere it is spent, they have their due, the Prince is bettered, you are quieted, Iustice executed, malefactours terrifyed. Were they never so deare collopps of your owne flesh and bloud, I see not how you could either have coloured their offence, or qualifyed their punishment, the one so notorious, that it cannot be dissembled, the other so ordinary, that course of law prescribeth it. Therefore as you have well done, so you have done but your duties, allowed an inch to receive an ell, abridged your owne foes, avenged your own injuryes, condemned your owne oppressors. And yet this duty being on your parts, so cheerefully and painfully, so lovingly and advisedly performed, deserveth great thankes, and shall finde it too, If I bee the man, either in office able to consider you, or out of office in place to friend you. I am to depart into England shortly, lay your heads together, and article the points, whereby this Realme may be furthered, use mee either as a mouth to speake for you, or an eye to direct you, or as a hand to under-prop you, *aut consilio, aut auxilio.* Besides, the generall vvhich I ought to have for you all, as your governour, and yoked together under one obedience, English blouds, and English hearts, I am linked to you as to my continuall acquaintance these many yeares, hither I came in my spring, heere I have spent my summer, I returne in the fall of the leafe, now is the time, intimate your defects in demaunds, or what else soever may content you, and see whether I will tender your common-wealth. I meane not the pretended common-

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wealth, seditiously promoted in *Tom Loodles* ryme, but some good and substantiall matter worth the hearing, which upright and equall men will indeede esteeme. As for his complaint of Cesse and Imposition, it favoureth either hatefull malice, or childish folly, malice if he would decay the garrison that preserveth the Realme, folly if he thinke the Realme can be preserved vvithout a garrison, vvherin I will shew you my fancie by the vvay, perhaps out of all order, but I pray beare vvith mee, I take matters as they come next to hand, I can not skill of vvritten tales. Many a good-fellovv talkes of *Robin Hoode*, that never drevv in his Bovv, and many an idle head is full of Proclamations, and conceiveth certaine fine fetches, able in his vveening to vvield a Realme. But let me see vvhich of them all can justifie, that Ireland may spare the Army they kicke so much against. Are your enemyes more tractable then they have beene? Are they fevver? Are you by your selves of force to match them? If you bee, then vvere England starke madde, to disburse tvventie or thirtie thousand pounds a yeare, for none other purpose but to vexe and grieve you: that were like the husband who gelded himselfe to anger his wife. You must not thinke wee love you so evill, nay rather thinke truely wee tender your quietnesse and preservation, as a nation derived from our auncestours, ingraffed and incorporate into one body with us, disturbed with a sort of barbarous people, odious to God and man, that lappe your bloud as greedily as ours. The abuse of souldiours, their

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horse, boyes, and harlots, the Legerdemaine of Captaines, chequerelles, the purloyning of Cessors & Constables, the number of freedomes holding onely by *concordatum*, the annoyance and hurt which the poore farmer endureth, as I know them to be intollerable, so I know them to be redressed with the first detection, whose complaint hath not been heard? whose enormity vvinked at? what can you aske more? would you have souldiours nothing insolent, nothing sensuall, nothing greedy, no quarrellers? so wish I, but scarce hope for it, vvould you hazard a misery certaine, extreame, and incurable, to avoyde a trouble casuall, transitory, and remedilesse? so vvould not I, if you can prove a garrison needlesse, I undertake to ease you thereof, If you neede it, they must bee fedde, finde another vvay then this, to provide for them victuall, that carryeth asmuch readinesse to service, and more contentation to your selves, and I assure you mine assistance to set it forvvard. But the Brokers of this libell are vvont to reason, Why should not vvee live vvithout an Army as vvell as in England? Why cannot our Noble-men of might in every border, our tenants and servaunts vvithstand the Irish next them, as vvell as the Northerne Lordes and Inhabitants of Riddesdale and Tiddesdale, and those about the Scottish banke resist the Scotts, facing and pilfering as fast as our enemyes. Very good, vvhat saye they then to Fraunce, vvhich is no vvorser governed then England, and hath an Armye. Italy notvvithstanding as vvell ordered as Fraunce vvithout an Army? Spaine asvvell as either of them

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both, and continually keepes an Armye? I tell you, these are daungerous and hollovve kindes of Arguments, which are deduced *ab exemplo*, by example of other Realmes. Many subtile diversities, many varieties of circumstance, many exceptions alter the case, and make it utterly desperate. Touching Scotland it is well knowne, they were never the men whom England neede to feare: They are but a corner cut out, and easily tamed when they waxe outragious. Your foes lie in the bosome of your Countryes; more in number, richer of ground, desperate theeves, ever at an inch, unpossible to be severed from you without any fence, beside your owne valiantnes, and the helpe of our Souldiours. England is quiet within it selfe, thoroughly peopled on that side of Scotland, which most requireth it, guarded with an army, otherwise the Lords and Gentlemen, and lusty Yeoman, that dwell on a row are ready to maister their private vagaries. From all forraine invasions walled with the wide Ocean. Were there such a Sea betwixt you and the Irish, or were they shut up in an odde end of the land, or had they no such opportunityes of bogges and woods as they have, or were they Lords of the lesser part of Ireland, or were they severed into handfuls, not able to annoy whole townesships and Baronies as they doe, the comparison were somewhat like, but alacke it fareth not so with you, you are beset round, your townes be feeble, the land empty, the commons bare, every county by it selfe cannot save it selfe. Take away the terrour and feare of our Bande, which in-

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creaseth your strength, many an Irish Lord would be set agog that novv is full lovvly, and holdeth in his hornes, and the open enemy vvould scovvre your quarters that novv dares not venture lest he pay for his passage. Consider me the effect of an Army vvrought in these fevv yeares, for doubt vvhereof you are nothing so oft nor so lamentably pelted at, as your auncestors vvere, vvhich of them durst be stored with coyne, knovving the rebells teeth vvatered thereat, and himselfe not able to hold him out? vvhich of them had leisure to build, to lye soft and vvarme, to take his ease in his ovvne home? vvhich of them vvere plated, or jevvelled, or attyred themselves, their vivves and children sumptuously, after their calling, as you doe now? If your bagges bee full vvhere theirs were lancke, if you dwell neatly where they dwelled homely, if you sleep on featherbeds where they slept on couches, if you be sumptuous where they vvere skant, you have the more cause to honour that Scepter, that so directeth you, and to love the warrant that procureth you this quietnes, the mother of all your wealth and prosperity.

Therefore to conclude where I began, weigh well the sicke and wounded parts of your common wealth, cure the roote, regard the foundation, the principall pillars, the summer posts, the stone walles, as for the roofe and the tyles, if yee repaire them onely, and suffer the ground worke to perish, a tempest of weather, a flovve will shake your building. Of some such good and substantiall reformation I would advise you

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friendly to consult, and you shall finde me as willing to preferre the generall welfare of you all, as I have beene desirous to benefit every singular person of you, that hath in any lawfull suite attempted me.

¶ These last words gave *Sidney* to the Realme, as it were for a farewell, and thenceforvvards looked for Sir *VVilliam Fitz VVilliams* his brother in law, a politicke and stout gentleman, now Lord Iustice, and for Sir *Iohn Perrot* Lord president of Mounster, to be settled there, before his departure. He was honored at the point of his going, with such recourse, pompe, musicke, shewes & enterludes, as no man remembreth the like. He tooke ship towards England at the key of Divelin, in Lent followving,[1] accompanied to sea with the Estates & Worshipfull of Ireland, vvith innumerable harty prayers, & vvith that vvish of his returne, vvhereof but fevv Governours in these last 60. yeares, have held possession. The man vvas surely much loved of them, from his first office of Treasurer in the 2. yeare of Queen *Mary*, stately vvithout disdaine, familiar vvithout contempt, very continent & chast of body, no more then enough liberall, learned in many languages, & a great lover of learning perfect in blazoning of armes, skilfull of antiquities, of vvit fresh and lively, in consultations very Temperate, in utterance happy, vvhich his experience and vvisedome hath made artificiall, a preferrer of many, a father to his servants, both in warre and peace of commendable courage

[1] 25. Mar. 1571.

FINIS.

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ERRATA

In the ORIGINAL *text of* CAMPION.

Page 30, in the marginal note, read *An. Mundi* 1656.
Page 43, line 19, read *our* instead of *your*.
Page 67, line 24, after Clerke, read *astonished*.
Page 88, line 6, read *extreamely*.
Page 94, line 4, read *coadiutors*, instead of *coodgellers*.
Page 123, line 4, read LEINSTER, instead of Mounster.
Page 132, line 17, after Archer, read *Prior*.
Page 138, in the notes, read 1399.
Page 143, line 15, *præpositura*.
Page 201, line 2, read *cheque rolles*.

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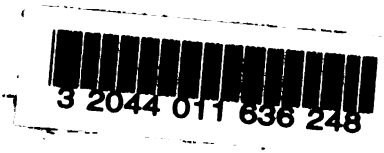

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